

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Safety cuts cause
more airline crashes

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 60 NO. 41 NOVEMBER 18, 1996

Clinton set for next step in attacking social wage

Bipartisan gov't faces powder kegs around the world

BY NAOMI CRAINE

As expected, Democratic Party candidate William Jefferson Clinton won reelection as president of the United States November 5. He received 49 percent of the popular vote, compared to 41 percent for Republican candidate Robert Dole. Reform Party candidate Ross Perot garnered 8 percent of the vote. According to Voter News Service, less than half of the potential voters went to the polls — the lowest turnout in 72 years.

The Republicans maintained a majority in both houses of Congress, picking up a seat or two in the Senate and losing a few in the House of Representatives.

Wall Street was pleased with this outcome. The Dow Jones industrial stock average rose nearly 100 points November 6, to a record high of 6,178.

The capitalist investors are rightly confident that the Democratic president and the majority Republican congress will continue pushing the steady stream of assaults on workers' social gains and democratic rights Clinton led in his first administration. But even as Wall Street celebrates, the instability and disorder of the world capitalist system drives the owners of capital to try to

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Youth protest anti-affirmative action Proposition 209 in Los Angeles October 27. U.S. rulers will continue bipartisan shift to right and attacks on social gains after election, but face potential social explosions in the United States and around the world.

Militant/Carole Lesnick

Socialists build regional conferences

BY JACK WILLEY
AND PAUL MAILHOT

NEW YORK — As the two major capitalist parties — the Democrats and Republicans — capped off their election campaigns and prepared to orchestrate the next round of attacks on workers and farmers, the socialist movement registered important progress with the recruitment of 10 Young Socialists during the final week of the Socialist Workers election campaign. This levy of fresh forces to the fight against capitalism puts the Young Socialists on a course to meet its goal of recruiting 80 new members by the end of November, when four regional socialist educational conferences

will be held. The gatherings will take place November 30-December 1 in Atlanta, Peoria, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists, the joint sponsors of these gatherings, are using the momentum from the last weeks of the socialist election campaign to launch ambitious efforts to build the conferences. James Harris and Laura Garza, the SWP candidates for president and vice president of the United States, will visit a number of cities to boost recruitment to the communist movement and participation in the educational conferences. These gatherings are the next big opportunity to come together and discuss the meaning of the

1996 election campaign, how to advance communist politics, and recruit to the Young Socialists.

Socialists are launching an all-out effort over the next three weeks to introduce workers and youth to the socialist press and invite them to the conferences. They will use the November 16-24 target week in the *Militant* subscription drive to win hundreds of new subscribers to the socialist press, step up sales of Pathfinder books, and build the regional events.

A brigade of socialists recently went to Beardstown, Illinois, to get the *Militant* into the hands of meatpacking workers and oth-

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Washington, Paris ready intervention in Zaire

BY MEGAN ARNEY

Under the guise of securing "humanitarian aid" for refugees fleeing the fighting in eastern Zaire, Washington is taking new steps toward military intervention in central Africa as it attempts to replace Paris as the dominant imperialist force in the region.

"American officials are considering whether to send troops to Central Africa for logistical support in an international force to protect and feed up to 1.4 million refugees caught in the fighting between Zaire and Rwanda," said an article in the November 6 *New York Times*.

On November 4, Paris pushed for a United Nations Security Council resolution authorizing the creation of an international military force of 4,000 troops to intervene in Zaire, allegedly to guarantee safe delivery of aid to refugees. Paris and Madrid also pushed for imperialist intervention in a European Union meeting in Brussels.

So far, Washington has declined to endorse the French proposals. "Some administration officials said they were miffed that France, after responding negatively to a U.S. plan to create a standing all-African force to intervene in just such situations, has now put forth an intervention proposal as a French initiative," said a story in the November 5 *Washington Post*.

In 1994, Washington set up a large military base in Rwanda's capital Kigali to support the new government of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) that had just come to power. The U.S. government replaced Paris,

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1.5 million hold protests and strikes in Bavaria

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Some 1.5 million metalworkers in Bavaria took part in demonstrations and strikes on November 4 to protest cuts in sick leave pay and other austerity measures by Bonn.

In Nürnberg, Ingolstadt, Wackersdorf, and Cham 50,000 workers took part in the labor actions, according to officials of the IG Metall union. November 4 marked the beginning of a new week of protests called by IG Metall, Germany's largest union. It was the third mass mobilization in a month. On October 1, 1.5 million workers took part in a nationwide protest. Some 400,000 demonstrated throughout Germany October 24. Further protests were planned the first week of November in Sachsen, Brandenburg, and cities in northern Germany.

In Bavaria, IG Metall has canceled the contract for about 650,000 metal workers. The accord will now expire on January 31, 1997. At the end of February IG Metall in Bavaria can call a strike. The employers in Bavaria condemned the November 4 walk-outs as illegal actions by the union. Union officials did not call strikes, but many workers left their jobs to take part in demonstrations and other similar actions.

According to union officials, about

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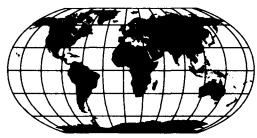
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Classes ♦ Book sales ♦ Socials

For rides and more information, contact areas listed on page 12

Protests blast cop brutality in Florida, Pennsylvania — page 7



Joblessness hits high in France

Unemployment in France rose to a two-year high of 12.6 percent in September, according to the *Financial Times* of London. The rate is a whole percentage point higher than just one year ago. The labor ministry report came at a time when Prime Minister Alain Juppé's popularity is at its lowest since he took office 17 months ago. On October 17, nearly 2 million public workers struck over the austerity measures of the Juppé government.

German business dumps U.S. soy

UDL, a German subsidiary of the UK-Dutch conglomerate Unilever, said it had stopped using U.S. soybeans in margarine because it was unable to distinguish between genetically-modified and unmodified beans. This comes after of Nestlé's German unit vowing to avoid using U.S. soybeans from this year's crop. The *Financial Times* of London reported that there is stepped-up pressure from European companies for U.S. soy producers to separate new genetically modified beans.

Israeli gov't expands settlements

Tel Aviv is actively pursuing a policy of expansion of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories of the West Bank. It is offering financial incentives and allocating some \$183 million in 1997, doubling last year's allotment. "There is now a conscious policy of expanding the settlements and encouraging people to settle in them," said Mossi Raz, a member of Peace Now, an organization that has opposed Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu's policies. The projects would give money specifically for expropriating land at Har Homa. The land at Har Homa is in east Jerusalem, where Tel Aviv's jurisdiction is not recognized under international law. It has, however, been earmarked by the Zionist regime for developing an Israeli-inhabited district.

Israeli settler charged in killing

An Israeli settler was charged with manslaughter November 1 for beating to death an 11-year-old Palestinian boy on October 27. The death sparked two days of protests by Palestinians in the West Bank city of



Residents of Olympiada, Greece, were attacked by cops in riot gear while road blocking the TVX mining company's attempt to set up a gold extraction plant on the archaeological site. TVX was blocked from the mines since January by the protests. In early October, the company responded by threatening to lay off hundreds workers.

Hussan. Palestinian youth who witnessed the beating said Nachum Korman grabbed the youth and hit him with a pistol butt. The official charges say that Korman, "placed his foot along the deceased's neck and hit him in the head with the butt of his handgun."

U.S. jet fighters fly over Korea

The U.S. warship *USS Independence* launched jet fighters in the Sea of Japan in provocative war games October 28. It was the first time the aircraft carrier has been used in annual U.S. - south Korean military exercises, which involve some 34,000 U.S. troops and most of south Korea's 650,000-strong armed forces. Jet fighters will fly as many as 120 sorties a day, and pass as close as 90 miles to the border of north Korea during the two-week exercise. "The exercises are composed of those tasks expected to be executed in the event of war," U.S. Rear Admiral Charles Moore said. Wash-

ington has maintained a military force there since the Korean War.

Philippine airline workers strike

Philippine Airlines (PAL) threatened to fire some 9,000 striking employees if they fail to return to work before Manila hosts the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (Apec) summit. The Philippine government intends to quell public protests when leaders of the trade forum show up there in late November. Manila's airport would suffer heavily if the strike persists, reported the *Financial Times*, because most of PAL's maintenance and ground-handling crew are on strike.

Instability looms in Mexico

"Uncertainty looms as Mexicans Forge their yearly economic pact," read the *New York Times* headline on October 28. The article points to the instability of both the peso and the health of Fidel Velázquez, the 96-year-old official who has kept a grip on Mexico's unions for decades. The Mexican government and labor officials reached an agreement October 26 that keeps wages in check and insures that government's austerity policies will continue for another year. "The pact" has been signed every year since 1987, which subscribes the collaboration between the government and labor officialdom for the year. Finance minister Guillermo Ortiz added, "We are not easing up."

The pact includes a 17 percent wage increase that pales in comparison to the 70 percent loss in workers' real wages in the last decade. The peso fell 4.9 percent in the last three weeks of October, and on October 25

the peso closed at a yearly low of 12.63 cents.

Venezuelan prisoners launch hunger strike

In late October, some 1,000 prisoners from Retén de Catia and El Rodeo prisons in Venezuela declared a hunger strike, protesting the death of 25 inmates. The prisoners died in a fire after guards launched incendiary devices into a crowded jail cell in La Planta jail October 22. "The hunger strike is a form of solidarity with the those that died and against what happened," said Henrique Meier in a brief phone conversation with the Associated Press.

Prisoners are demanding that they facilitate the process of transfers of the trials and they are also citing overcrowding. Rafael Naváez, a prisoner who is on strike, told reporters that the strike has been peaceful and that the only way the strikers will stop is when government officials negotiate and begin to reduce the overcrowding.

Curfew law overturned in D.C.

A Federal district judge ruled October 29 in Washington, D.C. that a curfew law is unconstitutional, ruling that it violated the rights of minors and parents. The decision came in a case filed by the American Civil Liberties Union last November. The law took effect a year ago and set curfews of 11:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. on weekdays, and midnight to 6:00 a.m. on weekends for youth under 17 years old. The judge, Emmet Sullivan, ruled that the curfews violated minors' rights to free movement and minors' rights to be free from unreasonable search and seizure.

Washington threatens Malaysia with sanctions for Iran trade

Malaysia's national oil company may face sanctions by Washington for investing in Iran, according to the *Financial Times* of London. Gregg Rickman, legislative director at the office of U.S. senator Alfonse D'Amato, said the Malaysian company should face sanctions.

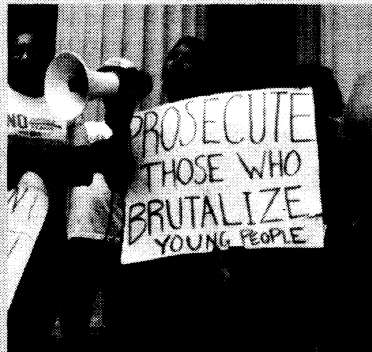
The threat of sanctions comes from the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act, passed in August, against companies that invest more than \$40 million a year in the oil and gas sectors of the two countries. Under the law two of six sanctions, including the ban of goods in the U.S. market, could be imposed on the particular foreign company. Petronas, Malaysia's state oil company, has agreed to take a 30 percent stake in two oil fields in Iran — with a total investment of \$600 million.

— MEGAN ARNEY

THE MILITANT

Protest cop brutality

The recent protests against cop killings in St. Petersburg, Florida; Leland, Mississippi; and other cities indicate a growing resistance by working people to these racist attacks. The 'Militant' explains why these cop assaults are an integral part of capitalism. Don't miss a single issue!



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S. African parliament legalizes abortion

BY GREG ROSENBERG

WASHINGTON, D.C. — On October 30, South Africa's National Assembly passed a bill allowing women to choose abortion on demand, at state expense, up to the twelfth week of pregnancy.

The measure — among the most progressive abortion bills in the world — was approved by a vote of 209 to 87, with five abstentions. The Senate, with an African National Congress majority, approved the legislation on November 5 with 49 votes to 21. It will be sent to South African president Nelson Mandela for his signature.

The ANC benches erupted in cheering and ululating at the vote. An October 30 Reuters dispatch remarked that members of "the National Party sat stony-faced and rightist Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen shook his head."

Both of these parties, along with the Inkatha Freedom Party and African Christian Democratic Party, staunchly opposed allowing women the right to choose abortion. Outside parliament, the ANC Youth and Women's Leagues held a demonstration in favor of abortion rights.

The Choice on Termination of Pregnancy bill provides that "a pregnancy may be terminated during the first 12 weeks of the gestation period of a woman who so requests." Between the 13th to the 20th week, a woman may request and obtain an abortion if certain conditions are met: if the pregnancy constitutes "a risk of injury to the woman's physical or mental health," if there is "substantial risk that the fetus would suffer from a severe physical or mental abnormality," if the pregnancy is a result of rape, or if bringing the pregnancy to term "would significantly affect the social or economic circumstances of the woman."

After 20 weeks, a doctor can recommend abortion only if the pregnancy endangers the life of the woman or would result in deformation of the fetus.

In all cases, the abortion may only be carried out at the request of the woman. The legislation also specifies that while counseling may be recommended prior to an abortion, under no circumstances are women — including minors — required to consult with parents, spouses, or anyone else prior to the abortion. The decision is strictly a woman's choice.

The bill provides for fines and jail terms of up to six months for anyone who "obstruct(s) access to a facility for the termination of pregnancy."

"This bill reflects the individual's right to govern her own body and her own life," remarked ANC deputy secretary general Cheryl Carolus. She pointed out that an estimated 200,000 back alley abortions occur annually in South Africa. Apartheid law, which is still in the books, barred all abortions except in the case of rape or when women's health was at risk. Some 45,000 women annually are admitted to hospitals after having undergone back-alley abortions or induced miscarriages.

Heated debate took place leading up to the vote. "Just how far away are we from another Sodom and Gomorrah?" asked National Party MP Cyril George. "Abortion on demand is simply cold-blooded murder and should not be allowed."

"Who are we to say we care about life, that we care about children and about human suffering when United Nations figures show 84,000 children dying before the age of five in our country," countered Pregs Govender of the ANC. "Where was the outrage, where were the edicts from those who stand in pulpits now and hail down stones and talk of sin?" she said.

"Hundreds of women, more than all the members of the National Assembly, die annually from these unsafe [back-alley] terminations of pregnancy," said Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma of the ANC. "This bill will save their lives by giving them a choice to terminate the pregnancy safely and in dignity." Zuma said the legislation would take effect within a few months.

"We need to ensure that women are in a position to take decisions over their own lives," said the Congress of South African Trade Unions in a statement prior to the vote. "This includes being able to terminate unwanted pregnancies." The trade union federation pointed out that it "represents the



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Protest of cleaning workers in Johannesburg, South Africa, September 1994. Struggles of women workers as part of national democratic revolution contributed to gains for women's emancipation registered in new bill legalizing abortion, which the country's National Assembly and Senate recently approved with big majorities.

working woman and the majority of its members are poor and black, people who in the past... had to turn to dangerous back street abortions."

While the Catholic Church hierarchy lob-

bied ferociously against the bill, those voting for its passage included Catholic nun Bernard Ncube, a member of the ANC. The South African Council of Churches supported the bill. South Africa's Islamic Unity

Convention said any MP who voted for the pro-choice legislation would be reported to Muslim religious leaders in Cairo, Medina and Pakistan.

The Democratic Party and Pan-Africanist Congress voted for the bill.

The legislation was brought to a vote after amendments introduced by the National Party were rejected. Among other things, the party which presided over apartheid had wanted a clause guaranteeing "freedom of conscience" for medical practitioners who did not want to perform the procedure.

The ANC's position on abortion rights was reaffirmed at a September 30 meeting of its National Executive Committee.

The NEC added that "we do not accept that there should be any mandate for a 'vote of conscience' for ANC MPs," that is ANC deputies in the National Assembly from party discipline on the day of the vote. All ANC members were instructed to vote for the legislation. Reflecting some opposition to abortion rights within the organization, however, some 50 ANC delegates did not show up for the vote. This was allowed by the ANC leadership.

Hundreds of testimonials were presented to the legislature prior to the vote, both pro-choice and anti-abortion rights. Opponents of women's right to choose also organized demonstrations in various parts of the country, many of which drew hundreds of participants.

Mandela rejects calls for reintroduction of death penalty in South Africa

BY GREG ROSENBERG

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Amid mounting pressure from South Africa's capitalist class for reintroduction of the death penalty, South African president Nelson Mandela has declared his rejection of such pleas.

"There is going to be no review whatsoever," Mandela told reporters in Pretoria September 25. "We have outlawed the capital sentence. I appreciate the concern of the public, which is due to a lack of information. Our task is to go to the grassroots to mobilize them, and to indicate the strategies that should be adopted if we are going to reduce the level of crime."

The National Party of F.W. de Klerk, the Inkatha Freedom Party of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the big-business media have campaigned for the reintroduction of the death penalty since it was outlawed by South Africa's Constitutional Court in June 1995. Public opinion polls, purporting to reflect mass sentiment on this question, are being used as a weapon in the political battle over capital punishment. Mandela's September 25 statements came a few days after the Johannesburg *Star* published the results of one such survey, in which 93 percent of respondents said they favored reinstatement of the death sentence.

The South African apartheid state was one of the world's chief hangmen, until the rising revolutionary democratic movement led by the ANC forced the regime to suspend legalized murder. Some 100 people a year were hanged, up until that time — overwhelmingly blacks.

The growing debate has been fueled by the social breakdown resulting from the legacy of apartheid rule, which the ANC now confronts in its efforts to build a nation and codify broad democratic rights.

The big business press uses official crime to buttress the argument that state-imposed executions should be reintroduced. Last year there were reports of 18,983 murders and 66,838 robberies in South Africa. Stories on carjackings, thefts, and killings of high profile businessmen and diplomats are touted by the media as examples of why executions should be reinstated.

The pro-death penalty campaign has begun to affect some members of the ANC as well.

At a September 1 ANC summit on crime, South African Justice Minister Dullah Omar told delegates that "the view of the summit is that the ANC, as the leading liberation force and democratic force in our country, representing the will of the people, should

not be afraid to reassess its position with regard to the death penalty."

Omar, an ANC leader, said the gathering had "taken the position that the [ANC] National Executive Committee should as a matter of urgency review the whole question of the death penalty and if it is necessary the whole position of the ANC should be reviewed."

Mandela, who is also the president of the ANC, forcefully rejected this call. "I will not even ask that the matter be discussed in the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress," Mandela said September 25.

The South African president remarked that "we do not want to arouse false expectations, notwithstanding the success we have achieved in our strategies. There will still be hijackings, robberies, murder, and theft."



Rally celebrating unbanning of ANC, February 1990. Four months later, South Africa's Constitutional Court outlawed death penalty under pressure from democratic movement.

Mandela added that there was little public confidence in the South African justice system and police forces. He pointed out that a campaign to root out corruption in the police had led to the arrest of 708 officers between July 1994 and June 1996. "So the tide against crime is gathering momentum," Mandela said.

For further reading from Pathfinder

The Coming Revolution in South Africa

Jack Barnes

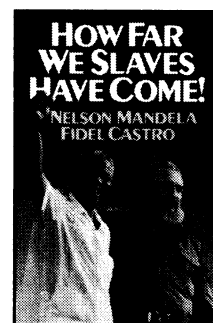
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New Jersey socialist debates opponents

The following article appeared in October 29 *Courier-News*, a daily published in northern New Jersey, under the headline "Candidates debate health care, taxes."

BY VINCENT PATERNO

NORTH PLAINFIELD — Taxes and health care were the big issues Monday night as the four candidates for the 7th Congressional District met in a debate at the Italian-American Club.

Republican incumbent Bob Franks and his three challengers — Dorothy De Laura of the Conservative Party, Democrat Larry Lerner and Robert G. Robertson of the Socialist Workers Party — handled a variety of topics before about 100 people. However, most of the talk dealt with economics rather than social issues.

Asked about tax reform, Franks said, "My priority with tax reform begins with ending the IRS as we know it.... We need to make the tax system fairer and simpler. There are tax loopholes that run rampant which have been bought by the special interests of America."

Robertson said, "The working people shouldn't pay taxes. We should tax the wealthy people." He expressed his opposition to a sales tax.

De Laura responded by saying such policies would hurt "the grit and initiative to get ahead." She endorsed a flat tax — "everyone should be taxed equally" — and also supported a capital-gains tax.

Lerner called taxation "a necessary evil, the way our government works," but added, "We need targeted tax cuts," including deductions for those who buy new homes.

On health insurance, Franks said more than 80 percent of Americans without health coverage do have jobs.

"We need to make it more affordable and acceptable for employers, particularly small-business people... to be able to purchase health insurance for their employees," he said.

De Laura said she concurred with Franks' attempts to make health insurance more portable when employers change jobs, but added, "I do not favor government health policies. There's no such thing as a free lunch."



Robert Robertson (far right) during November 4 debate in North Plainfield, New Jersey, with his Democratic and Republican opponents in the 7th Congressional District.

Lerner said the U.S. was "the only country in the Western world" that does not have a health-care system for its citizens. We need to look at how we could afford it," he said.

Robertson said his party's campaign was "for free health care for all, period." Of portability, he said he was offered health care when he was laid off from U.S. Steel, but said the amount was "more than my unemployment compensation."

Franks said he was one of only 20 Republicans to support President Clinton's crime bill, although Lerner said the congressman had voted "six times" against cops-on-the-street programs.

De Laura said crime had dropped drastically in states where citizens were allowed to carry guns, so she said it was time to "give everyone a fighting chance."

Robertson said he opposed gun control because "I think the criminals are at the top, not at the bottom."

The debate was sponsored by *The Courier-News*.

The same daily published in the voters

guide of its November 3 edition a biographical sketch of Robert Robertson, Socialist Workers Party candidate in New Jersey's 7th Congressional District, as well as of Stephanie Trice, SWP candidate for the state's 6th C.D.

Robert G. Robertson, Socialist Workers Party

Background: Age: 35. Address: 57 Lake St., Bloomfield. Occupation: Chemical operator. Political experience: None. Community activities: Active in supporting job actions, including Hormel Meatpackers strike, United Mine Workers strike and Eastern Airline strike; activist against police brutality and former apartheid system in South Africa; member, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

Issues: Opposes stationing of U.S. troops in Mideast; opposes federal welfare overhaul, prefers expansion of health care, pension and minimum wage protections; supports shortened work week and creation of large-scale public works program to guarantee jobs for all.

From the pages of the *Iowa State Daily*, Tuesday, October 22, 1996

COUNTDOWN TO ELECTION '96

Harris takes stand for education

by ERIN PAYNE
Daily Staff Writer

Most only hear about what presidential candidates Bob Dole, a Republican, and Bill Clinton, a Democrat, have to say in their bids for election.

However, there are six other parties vying for the office that are on the state of Iowa ballot. One of these is the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist campaign is endorsing Georgian James Harris for president and Laura Garza, from New York, for vice president.

The Socialist Party supports free education to all, equal rights for immigrants, abortion rights, the extension of affirmative action, raising the minimum wage and jobs for everyone. On the international front, socialists protest U.S. involvement in other affairs.

Harris, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, is a worker at a meat packing company and has been involved in fighting for black rights. A member of various unions, Harris' first political activity was the civil rights movement.

He founded the Black Student Union at Cleveland State University and organized demonstrations against the Vietnam War. The presidential candidate also opposes

threats against Cuba and any embargoes on the socialist nation.

Garza, currently a staff writer for a socialist publication, has fought for the socialist movement for 25 years. She has worked at a number of factories and has volunteered her time to her cause by visiting Cuba, supporting abortion rights and standing up for refugees and immigrants. She has run for the office of Miami mayor and for U.S. Congress.

Education should be free, said Joe Swanson, a packing house worker and Iowa supporter of the Harris-Garza campaign. While the rich can afford to send their children to college, Swanson said, most of the working class does not have that option.

"We should fight for free education for those who want to be educated," Swanson said.

A free education would be possible if the government eliminated various resources, including the war budget, many Socialists argue. Swanson said the budget has no purpose.

The two believe in relying on the collective power of unions in order to replace a government ruled by "billionaire families."

"We urge the labor movement to defend these immigrants," Swanson said.

Hot Stances

James Harris & Laura Garza Socialist Workers Party

Education: Proposes free education for all income levels

Affirmative Action: Supports efforts to offer minorities opportunities

Immigration: Favor equal rights for immigrants

Foreign Policy: Opposed to U.S. intervention in foreign countries

Abortion: Supports a woman's right to choose whether or not to have an abortion

Minnesota SWP candidate invites youth to conference

BY GAETAN WHISTON

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Jennifer Benton, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in Minnesota's 5th district faced off her opponents October 29 at Augsburg College here. At the meeting, organized by the campus chapter of the Minnesota Public Interest Research Group (MPIRG), Benton debated Martin Olav Sabo, the Democratic candidate; Jack Uldrich, her Republican opponent; and Erika Anderson of the Grassroots Party. This was the second time in the campaign that Sabo, Uldrich, and Benton debated from the same platform.

Uldrich said that the federal Social Security fund will be bankrupt in five years. He claimed that social security has begun to pit younger people against older ones as the burden for payment is forced onto those who don't stand a chance today of collecting it in the future.

"This is not a conflict between younger and older people," responded Benton, a 27-year-old assembly line worker and member of the International Association of Machinists. "It is a conflict between workers who are defending the gains our grandparents fought for and won, and the capitalist ruling class that is attacking those entitlements." She urged the largely student audience to join in struggles to defend those entitlements.

Uldrich focused on the national debt. According to him, the students would be the ones who have to pay it back over the years. Sabo spoke in the same framework, but pointed with pride to cuts the Democrats had made over the past four years.

Benton disagreed with both of them. "This is not our debt," she said. "It is a debt held as an asset by the parasitic bondholders who collect interest payments by siphoning off surplus value created by working people. It is used as an excuse to cut welfare and social security, while lining the pockets of the rich."

In response to questions about the wetlands in Minnesota and other states, Benton

said, "I see the problem of the disappearing wetlands as one that demonstrates the problem of capitalism. Think about it. Even though it is completely short sighted to destroy the wetlands, it continues to happen. Why? It is in the interests of immediate gain for those who appropriate and control the wealth workers produce. The narrow interests of profits for a few wins out against the long term interests of humanity under capitalism."

Uldrich defended a voucher system for public schools. Benton opposed any form of voucher system. She defended public education as a right and pointed to the Cuban revolution as an example. There, she said, "workers and farmers wiped out illiteracy after they took power and made access to free education a right." She raised the need for a social revolution to bring a government of workers and farmers to state power in this country.

While the rest of the candidates concentrated on their personal credentials, Benton used her opening remarks to explain that the socialist campaign presents ideas for a working-class alternative to the capitalist two-party system.

She said that "just as the economic crisis doesn't end November 5, neither does the work of socialist workers. We will continue to advocate the same course."

She invited people to participate in a Socialist Educational Conference in Peoria, Illinois, organized by the Young Socialists and the SWP at the end of November and to join the Young Socialists.

After the meeting students gathered round Benton to ask about her campaign, and looked at the books and literature at a campaign table staffed by Young Socialists.

Katie Bruggeman, who had come from Hamline University to find out more about the socialist campaign, expressed her support to Benton after the debate. "I'm so proud," she said.

Gaetan Whiston is an alternate member of the Young Socialists National Committee.

SELL THE BOOKS WORKERS OF THE WORLD NEED

Join the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets

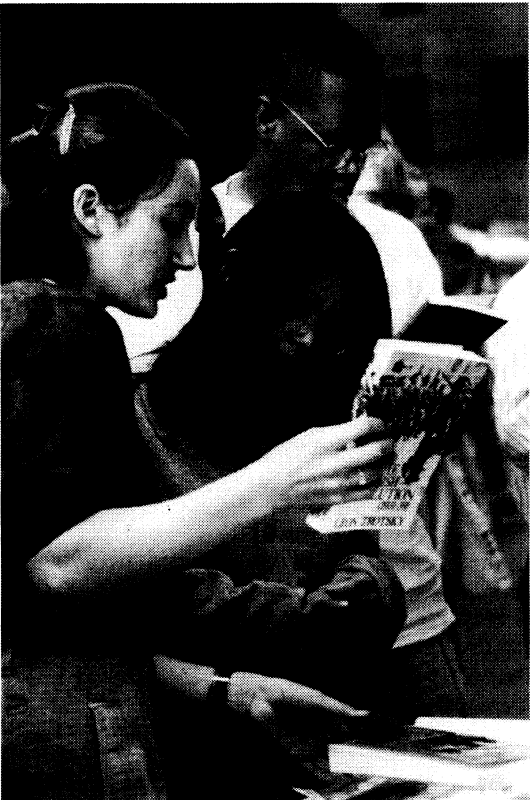
Sales yield new recruits to YS

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Increasing sales of Pathfinder books, building the regional socialist educational conferences at the end of November, and recruiting 80 new Young Socialist members by December 1 are interlinked with the success of the *Militant* subscription drive. With three weeks left to win 1,200 new *Militant* subscribers, 425 new readers to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and sell 550 copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*, distributors can look to cities like Atlanta and Los Angeles. Supporters there have consistently made progress in sales of Pathfinder books and in building YS chapters.

As the chart below shows, the drive for *Militant* sub-

Militant Subscription Drive OCTOBER 5 - NOVEMBER 24, 1996									
	Militant			PM			NI		
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%
Australia	15	7	47%	3	1		10	2	
Canada									
Toronto	45	29	64%	10	2		25	11	
Montreal	25	16	64%	8	7		40	19	
Vancouver	30	17	57%	3	3		20	8	
Canada Total	55	33	60%	11	10		60	27	
France	6	1	17%	3	0		8	3	
New Zealand									
Auckland*	20	14	70%	1	2		15	12	
Christchurch	6	1	17%	1	1		4	2	
N.Z. Total	26	15	58%	2	3		19	14	
Sweden	12	7	58%	8	4		15	16	
United Kingdom									
London	36	16	44%	8	1		25	20	
Manchester	26	6	23%	2	0		15	8	
U.K. Total	62	22	35%	10	1		40	28	
United States									
Los Angeles	85	64	75%	40	31		40	23	
Boston	30	21	70%	15	10		15	13	
Miami*	30	18	60%	20	13		22	13	
Atlanta	27	15	56%	12	15		12	9	
Houston	40	21	53%	15	15		15	2	
Philadelphia*	35	18	51%	15	8		10	4	
Seattle	45	23	51%	20	16		20	13	
Peoria, IL	20	10	50%	3	1		10	2	
Pittsburgh	30	15	50%	3	2		12	3	
San Francisco	70	35	50%	30	8		35	21	
Birmingham, AL	48	21	44%	5	6		18	4	
Twin Cities, MN	60	25	42%	20	7		25	6	
Salt Lake City	32	13	41%	12	7		10	0	
Tucson, AZ	5	2	40%	1	0		2	0	
Des Moines	25	9	36%	15	9		15	4	
Newark, NJ	90	32	36%	45	28		45	6	
Chicago	60	21	35%	30	18		30	8	
New York	135	46	34%	105	90		90	28	
Cleveland	25	7	28%	8	1		15	7	
Detroit	50	14	28%	10	8		15	12	
Greensboro, NC	25	7	28%	5	7		9	2	
Washington, DC	30	8	27%	20	13		15	10	
Morgantown, WV	21	3	14%	1	5		7	3	
Denver	8	1	13%	4	2		2	2	
Other		3							
Total U.S.	1026	452	44%	454	320		489	195	
International totals	1202	537	45%	491	339		641	285	
Goal/Should be at	1200	684	57%	425	242		550	313	
IN THE UNIONS									
	Militant			PM			NI		
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%
Australia									
AMWU-Food	2	1	50%	0	0		2	1	
AMWU-Metal	5	2	40%	0	0		1	0	
Australia Total	5	2	40%	0	0		1	0	
Canada									
CAW	3	2	67%	1	0		4	1	
IAM	7	3	43%	1	0		8	1	
Canada Total	10	5	50%	2	0		12	2	
New Zealand									
EU	4	2	50%	0	0		0	0	
MWU	5	0	0%	0	0		0	0	
UFBGWU	3	0	0%	0	0		0	0	
New Zealand Total	12	2	17%	0	0		0	0	
United States									
UFCW	4	3	75%	7	3		3	0	
UNITE	15	5	33%	10	2		10	2	
UAW	60	17	28%	10	0		30	1	
USWA	40	8	20%	10	3		22	3	
IAM	64	11	17%	14	3		29	7	
UTU	50	6	12%	5	0		28	1	
OCAW	27	3	11%	0	1		15	1	
UMWA	4	0	0%	0	0		4	2	
U.S. Total	260	50	19%	49	9		138	17	
United Kingdom									
RMT	4	1	25%	0	0		4	1	
AEEU	6	0	0%	0	0		4	0	
TGWU	5	0	0%	0	0		0	0	
U.K. Total	15	1	7%	0	0		8	1	
*Raised goal									



Selling Pathfinder books and the *Militant* at the New York annual bookfair in September.

scriptions now lags one week behind schedule. To take advantage of the opportunities seen around the world to expand circulation of the socialist press among working-class rebels and build the communist movement in the process, the *Militant* has called a target week of sales November 16-24.

Leading up to these final eight days of a special effort, *Militant* supporters can take advantage of day-to-day political work on the job, plant gate sales, regional teams, and outreach in working-class communities to close the gap in winning new readers. During the target week, socialist workers will be taking time off work to join several-day sales teams to packinghouses, coal mines, farms, and to picket lines of striking steelworkers at Wheeling-Pitt in West Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. They will be joined by YS members in several cities. These teams will be spreading the word about the socialist regional conferences and inviting workers and youth interested in the communist movement to participate. Joining local political meetings and protest actions, and going door-to-door in working-class communities every day during this period will also be key to meeting the goals by the November 24 deadline.

Following are examples of recent such successful efforts.

Mike Italie, a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees in Atlanta, reported how supporters in that city sold subscriptions to the *Militant* by taking the Socialist Workers election campaign to campuses, working class communities, and plant gates. This extra effort put Atlanta's circulation campaign back on track.

"Our candidate for U.S. Senate, Arlene Rubenstein, took off work during the last week of October to campaign for the socialist alternative," said Italie. "A regional team went to Athens, Georgia, and organized a full day of sales on October 30, which included setting up a literature

table at the University of Georgia campus." Italie said the team sold three *Militant* subscriptions at the table and two subscriptions at a 'report-back meeting on the October 12 immigrant rights march in Washington, D.C.

Italie said four new members have been recruited to the Young Socialists — two in Athens and two in Atlanta — since the subscription campaign began. One supporter of the campaign who works at the Ford auto plant in Atlanta sold two subscriptions to coworkers during the past week.

"A high point of our sales campaign was at a November 2 town meeting speak-out against a racist attack on a Black youth in Spokane," said Seattle rail worker Rich Stuart, who participated in a regional sales team 300 miles away. The youth was stabbed as he fought off a group of racists. No charges or arrests were brought against the attackers.

Stuart said three young people at the meeting staffed a table supporting the Socialist Workers presidential ticket, which bore a sign reading, "Stop Racist Attacks, Young Socialists." During the speak-out, attended by 100 people, someone in the audience stood up and said, "What are the Young Socialists doing here?" At that point, Alaric Dirmeyer, a 19-year-old supporter of the *Militant* who lives in Spokane, responded, "I'm a member of the Young Socialists here to speak out on the failure to prosecute this attack. This is a pattern of racism in Spokane." Stuart said that "the attempted redbaiting boomeranged, as several people came up to the table after the meeting and told us, 'we're glad you are here, please come back.'" Two young women who are university students came up to the table. Both said they wanted to join the YS. "Alaric and several other young people are planning to form a chapter of the Young Socialists in Spokane on November 11,"

Monthly Sales of Pathfinder Books

Countries/Cities	October			Previous months		
	Goal	Sold	% Sold	September	August	July
CANADA						
Toronto	80	102	128%	108%	50%	79%
Vancouver	32	34	106%	38%	100%	9%
Montreal	72	64	89%	93%	40%	96%
CANADA Total	184	200	109%	90%	68%	74%
AUSTRALIA	36	37	103%	128%	119%	53%
UNITED KINGDOM						
London	170	170	100%	88%	182%	121%
Manchester	78	45	58%	183%	128%	0%
UK Total	248	215	87%	108%	150%	74%
UNITED STATES						
Miami	45	80	178%	73%	96%	56%
San Francisco	95	138	145%	118%	106%	52%
Atlanta	48	67	140%	104%	98%	63%
Houston	45	62	138%	38%	51%	35%
Los Angeles	120	151	126%	111%	129%	73%
Seattle	80	93	116%	69%	85%	35%
Detroit	70	81	116%	114%	103%	69%
Morgantown	32	34	106%	34%	75%	25%
Washington, D.C.	64	67	105%	75%	56%	102%
Philadelphia	50	52	104%	35%	38%	48%
Cleveland	50	50	100%	0%	74%	0%
Boston	65	65	100%	100%	71%	40%
Chicago	77	75	97%	155%	79%	64%
Pittsburgh	63	55	87%	37%	59%	27%
New York	340	260	76%	70%	54%	59%
Birmingham	50	34	68%	38%	60%	43%
Twin Cities	104	62	60%	63%	62%	106%
Salt Lake City	40	19	48%	45%	46%	72%
Peoria	36	16	44%	85%	104%	93%
Newark	171	55	32%	63%	58%	20%
Des Moines	45	14	31%	33%	49%	0%
Greensboro	77	20	26%	39%	85%	80%
U.S. Total	1767	1550	86%	76%	74%	53%
Goal/Should be	1800	1800	100%			
NEW ZEALAND						
Auckland	56	39	70%	52%	65%	48%
Christchurch	32	18	56%	56%	91%	38%
NZ Total	88	57	65%	53%	73%	44%
FRANCE*	25		0%			
GREECE*	13		0%	115%		
SWEDEN*	40		0%	105%	88%	130%
*No new report						
	Unions			Previous months		
	Goal	Sales	Total	Septem	Augus	July
AUSTRALIA						
*AMWU	4		0%	50%	250%	
CANADA						
CAW	6	4	67%			
*USWA	7		0%	143%		
*IAM	8		0%	63%	23%	38%
Total CANADA	15		0%	100%	23%	38%
UNITED KINGDOM						
RMT	10	5	50%	0%	50%	0%
*TCWU	7		0%	100%	0%	29%
*AEEU	10		0%	50%	0%	90%
Total U.K.	27		0%	56%	19%	56%
UNITED STATES						
IAM	53	46	87%	46%	44%	11%
UFCW	6	5	83%	33%	0%	0%
UMWA	5	4	80%	80%	40%	40%
UNITE	26	9	35%	92%	46%	19%
USWA	46	14	30%	28%	34%	19%
UAW	65	15	23%	55%	42%	0%
OCAW	48	8	17%	33%	50%	33%
*UTU	94		0%	0%	46%	0%
U.S. Total	343	101	29%	35%	45%	10%
Goal/Should be	400	400	100%			
* No new report						
IAM— International Association of Machinists; OCAW— Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW—United Auto Workers; UFCW— United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA— United Mine Workers of America; UNITE— Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA— United Steelworkers of America; UTU—United Transportation Union.						

Stuart said.

He added that a sales team went to Washington State University in Pullman, Washington, where they set up a table. They sold \$165 worth of Pathfinder books, including \$85 at the Spokane town meeting.

For the fourth month in a row, sales of Pathfinder books and pamphlets continue on an upward trend as the chart above shows. Socialist workers in the International Association of Machinists (IAM) boosted the book sales effort by selling 46 books on the job last month.

IAM member Carol James, who works at Northwest Airlines in Detroit, was one of them. She sold nine books to co-workers in October.

By responding to political opportunities and building on the momentum of previous months, socialist workers can reach 100 percent of the book sales goals in November and complete the subscription drive on time.

Young Socialists step up recruitment in Canada

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, P.O. Box 14392, St. Paul, MN 55104. Tel: (612) 644-0051. CompuServe: 105162,605

Last week, ten new members joined the Young Socialists in the United States, the highest one-week total in the YS recruitment drive so far. With a similar pace, the goal of recruiting 80 new YSers by December 1 is reachable.

BY GABRIEL CHARBIN

TORONTO — In June 1995 the conservative government of Premier Michael Harris was elected and unleashed its austerity and anti-union drive, called the "Common

Sense Revolution." Since then the Harris regime has been cutting health care, welfare, low-cost housing, education, and attacking the democratic rights of youth and working people.

At the same time the attacks have provoked widespread resistance led by organized labor, student and community organizations. Since last December five protest/shutdowns in southern Ontario cities have taken place involving tens of thousands of people. Many of the protesters have been high school, college, and university students, as well as young workers and unemployed youth.

Harris has cut CAN\$1.2 billion from the education budget this year. Another CAN\$600-900 million in cuts is yet to come (CAN\$1=US\$.73).

The Toronto Young Socialists chapter has participated in each of these protests reaching out to young fighters with the truth. YS members have been explaining that the problem we face is not Harris himself, but the world capitalist system which is on a downward curve towards more depression, fascism, and war.

We have just come through the massive Metro Toronto Days of Action. Months before the actual protest, the YS began to get involved in the organizing of this action through coalitions set up by the Metro Network for Social Justice and the Labor Council of Metropolitan Toronto.

On Friday, October 25, the protest brought Metro Toronto to a crawl through "cross-picketing" at 300 work sites. In order to avoid charges of illegal walkouts, union members picketed plants other than their own. Public transportation came to a halt because transit workers would not cross picket lines set up by auto workers, postal workers, students and others despite Labor Board injunctions against picketing.

On that day, YS members participated in a picket line that surrounded the S.A. Armstrong plant. The picket of 500 was organized by the United Steelworkers of



Militant/Holly Harkness

YS members participated in Toronto Metro Days of Action, October 25-26.

America to support the S.A. Armstrong strikers. These workers have been out for six months against the attempt by the owners to break the union through the use of scabs under the government's new anti-union laws. Other YS members took part in the transit employees picket lines that were all described by the media as being violent, where fires were set, and windows were broken. YS members also participated with thousands of others in demonstrations at the Toronto Stock Exchange and a rally to defend education as a right organized by the Canadian Federation of Students and others.

On October 26 we participated in a massive demonstration of close to 200,000 people from the Toronto area and all across Ontario to the provincial legislature. Nicho-

las Petroglia, a student at Oakwood Collegiate said, "We're making people aware of the effects of the cuts, we're getting ready for three years from now [when the next election is scheduled]."

"I'm here to show my support as a health care user, student and son of a taxpayer," he continued. "Canada's the first to vote on human rights policies at the UN, but we're not showing it [inside Canada]."

Several YS members from out of town participated in the protest. They came from Vancouver, Montreal, Detroit, and Chicago. This helped us make sure we had YS members at the key picket lines and rallies such as the picket lines to help shut down the public transit. We helped sell the *Militant*, Pathfinder books and collected names of young people interested in the YS. We met six people who expressed interest in joining, including four high school students, one university student from Sweden, and a student engineer who is a member of the Canadian Auto Workers currently working at Ford Electronics.

On the Saturday after the demonstration the YS organized an open house with the Communist League at the Pathfinder Bookstore here. Nearly 60 people attended.

Diane Kalen of the Toronto YS chaired the panel discussion, which included YS member Mark Gilsdorf, who was running for U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in Detroit, and Michel Prairie, a Communist League leader from Montreal who is active in promoting the fight for Quebec's independence.

There are great recruitment possibilities for the YS in Canada. Since last April's convention in Minneapolis, all three YS chapters have doubled their membership. Since the Toronto Days of Action, the YS chapter here has recruited two new members and two others have asked to join. We will keep doing this through participation in more class struggles like the Days of Action.

47 new members in the YS! From July 10 to November 5

City	# of new members
Athens, GA	3
Atlanta	4
Boston	1
Chicago	2
Cleveland	2
Denver	2
Fresno, CA	3
Houston	3
Los Angeles	5
McAllen, TX	1
Minneapolis/St. Paul	2
Morgantown	1
Newark	2
New York	3
Philadelphia	1
Portland, OR	1
Salt Lake City	2
San Diego	1
San Francisco	3
Seattle	2
Washington D.C.	3
Total	47

All-out effort needed to meet fund goal on time

BY TED LEONARD
AND NELL WHEELER

NEWARK, New Jersey — With only one week to go and nearly \$50,000 to collect,

making the international fund drive in full and on time must be the top priority for all supporters of Pathfinder Press. The funds are urgently needed to maintain the publisher's ability to keep in print and continue to upgrade some 300 titles that are increasingly in demand by workers, farmers, students, and other young people.

Michael Pennock reports from St. Paul, Minnesota, that on November 2 supporters of the fund there raised \$1,800 in payments and new pledges for the reprint fund at a rally that featured Ma'mud Shirvani.

Shirvani is coauthor of the introduction to the Pathfinder book, *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920 — First Congress of the Peoples of the East*. His remarks were centered on the theme of an article by Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin titled "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia."

"Although Europe, both in Lenin's time and today, is more advanced than Asia in terms of material wealth," Shirvani said, "it is terribly backward in the outlook and morality of the ruling bourgeoisies." He cited United Nations figures showing 4,500 deaths per month among Iraqi children due to the UN embargo of that country, enforced by U.S., British, and other naval and air forces in the region. "Recently, Washington blocked \$2 billion of oil sales designed to buy food and medicine, then offered \$7.5 million in humanitarian aid."

The previous night, Shirvani showed a video of the 1920 Baku Congress to a gathering of 10 young people organized by the Minneapolis/St. Paul Young Socialists. The day after the fund rally he gave a class on the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the opening of the struggle for national self-determination of the peoples of the East at the Pathfinder Bookstore. Twenty people attended.

Throughout the weekend, the Path-

finder bookstore in St. Paul sold 34 titles, including six copies of *To See The Dawn*, six copies of *Lenin's Final Fight, Speeches and Writings, 1922-23*, and nine copies of Leon Trotsky's *The History of the Russian Revolution*.

Monies collected in the international fund drive make it possible to keep in stock dozens of books and pamphlets such as these.

Currently, Pathfinder has slated two Marxist classics for reprinting. The founding document of the modern working-class movement, *The Communist Manifesto*, is one of them. The *Manifesto* was drafted by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels as the program of one of the first workers parties, the Communist League. *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, also by Engels, is the other title.

The Communist Manifesto, first published in 1848, explains why communists act on the basis not of preconceived notions but facts springing from the actual class struggle. It also explains why communism, to the degree it is a theory, is the generalization of the historical line of march of the working class. This pamphlet is one of the most popular Pathfinder titles and is often used by university professors as required reading in their classes. Because these "classroom adoptions" come along suddenly and may require hundreds of books, 5,000 copies of the booklet will be printed to have an adequate stock on hand.

Likewise, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, is often used as a classroom text, and 2,000 copies will be printed. In this pamphlet, Engels explains that modern socialism is not a doctrine, but a working-class movement growing out of the establishment of large scale capitalist industry and its social consequences.

With an all out effort to talk to every person who has made a pledge to the fund, the entire \$131,000 pledged can be collected and sent in by the November 10 deadline. Pathfinder supporters in each city should make sure to express mail money collected. The final chart printed in next week's *Militant* will reflect payments received as of Tuesday, November 12, noon EST.

Pathfinder Fund

CITY	GOAL	PAID	% of GOAL
San Francisco	\$10,000	\$9,225	92%
Atlanta	\$2,700	\$2,400	89%
Salt Lake City	\$3,600	\$3,170	88%
Miami	\$2,800	\$2,145	77%
Greensboro	\$2,400	\$1,785	74%
Detroit	\$6,000	\$4,434	74%
Birmingham	\$4,500	\$3,117	69%
Boston	\$6,000	\$3,975	66%
Seattle*	\$9,000	\$5,726	64%
Twin Cities	\$7,000	\$4,075	58%
Pittsburgh	\$6,000	\$3,455	58%
Philadelphia	\$5,000	\$2,875	58%
Los Angeles	\$12,000	\$6,738	56%
New York	\$14,000	\$7,733	55%
Newark	\$8,500	\$4,395	52%
Washington DC	\$3,500	\$1,793	51%
Cleveland	\$3,100	\$1,500	48%
Morgantown	\$1,500	\$663	44%
Chicago	\$7,500	\$3,150	42%
Peoria	\$2,750	\$1,105	40%
Houston	\$3,000	\$1,195	40%
Des Moines	\$2,350	\$530	23%
Other U.S.	\$650	\$650	
U.S. TOTAL	\$123,850	\$75,834	61%

Australia	\$750	\$450	60%
Canada		\$30	
Montreal	\$465		
Vancouver	\$100		
France	\$750	\$511	68%
Greece	\$200		
Iceland			
New Zealand*	\$4,550	\$3,745	82%
Sweden	\$400		
United Kingdom			

INTERNATIONAL			
TOTAL	\$131,065	\$80,570	64%
SHOULD BE	\$125,000	\$112,500	90%

*Raised goal

YS FUND DRIVE \$6,000 BY DECEMBER 1!

CITY	LOCAL GOAL	PAID
Boston	\$600	
Chicago	\$400	
Cleveland	\$150	
Los Angeles	\$500	
Miami	\$200	\$100
New York	\$650	
Peoria	\$100	
Philadelphia	\$200	\$73
Salt Lake City	\$50	\$35
San Francisco	\$700	
Twin Cities	\$800	\$200
TOTAL	\$4,350	\$408

Protests explode over killing by Florida cop

BY JANET POST
AND DALE YOUNCE

ST. PETERSBURG, Florida — TyRon Mark Lewis, an 18-year-old Black youth, was shot and killed by two white cops in south St. Petersburg, October 24, in daylight shortly after 5:00 P.M. This was the seventh police shooting in the city this year and the second fatality in about a week. On October 16 white cops shot and killed a Black man who was threatening his wife with a knife.

The police stopped Lewis's car at an intersection claiming he was speeding and, later, saying the car was stolen. When Lewis, who had a passenger, did not roll down his window, police officer Sandra Minor beat her baton on the car. Officer James Knight walked to the front of the automobile and shot Lewis five times through the windshield after he said the car "lurched forward."

Witnesses contradict this. "The car was going slow, it was just like when you take your foot off the brake," Iris Brinkley told a local reporter. Other witnesses said Lewis was getting out of the car. The passenger, also a Black youth, immediately jumped to the ground face down after the shooting.

At the scene neighbors began to gather and more cops arrived as anger over the incident grew. The *St. Petersburg Times* reported that children darted under crime scene tape and taunted police. Residents spoke of past shootings and shouted condemnations of police misconduct. One woman accused a Black police officer of betraying his community and dozens chanted, "Stop police brutality in the Black community." Rocks and bottles were thrown at the cops, and some cars were set ablaze. Cops threw tear gas into the crowd.

Word of the shooting spread on the south side and the angry reaction turned to general unrest throughout a 25-block area. Some 28 buildings were burned and looted, a police car was overturned, and two news vans were torched. Police reinforcements from the Florida Highway Patrol were called in. As a police helicopter lit the area with searchlights, cops used more tear gas and police dogs to break up the crowds. By the end of the night, at least 11 people had been injured and 20 arrested. There was an estimated \$5 million in damage.

The next day, police chief Darrel Stephens declared a state of emergency. Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles sent in 200 National Guardsmen. That evening cops blanketed the southside, ordering angry youth off the streets. "Each car nearly overflowed with riot-equipped officers — four and five to the vehicle, the rear doors cracked open — ready to pounce at the first sign of trouble," described the October 26 *Miami Herald*.

South St. Petersburg, where Lewis was killed, is 95 percent Black, with 37 percent of residents below poverty level and 23 percent on government public assistance. Twenty percent of St. Petersburg's 240,000 residents are Black.

The city has a long history of police violence against the Black community and what the press describes as "race related clashes" on the southside. The Justice Department carried out an investigation in 1978 and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reviewed "racial tensions" twice in the early 1990s. City officials established a Citizens Review Committee in 1991 to hear complaints about police conduct.

Five hundred people attended a Community Alliance meeting held two days after

Lewis's death. Many angrily explained that little had improved over the years. The same day Citizen Review Committee members told the press they never heard many of the grievances being voiced and that they were "frustrated at residents who say they witnessed improper actions by police, but never came forward to complain about it."

A series of other meetings were set up by public officials to try to cool the anger and control the response. At a November 1 meeting attended by approximately 50 people, speakers included local politicians, police, ministers, community representatives, and Rev. Joseph Lowery, national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Not once during their opening remarks did any of the speakers mention TyRon Lewis or the question of police brutality. Lowery was asked to come to St. Petersburg by Lewis's family and delivered the eulogy at his funeral.

An outpouring of 500 people attended Lewis's funeral November 2, nearly filling Bethel Metropolitan Baptist Church.

After the funeral, Lewis's cousin, 21-year-old Miguel Boyle, stated, "A lot of people don't know TyRon. But they came here today. He was shot in cold blood. What happened to him is not right. He didn't deserve to die. It makes me feel good to see so many came to pay respects."

Police officer Knight is currently suspended on paid administrative leave and Sandra Minor, who was not suspended, is working a desk job inside the police department. Federal, state, and internal police investigations are pending.

Janet Post is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 368 in Miami. Nathalia Póses, a student at Northeast High School in Ft. Lauderdale, and Maggie McCraw contributed to this article.

Pittsburgh rally: 'Cop brutality is nationwide'

BY CECILIA MORIARITY

PITTSBURGH — Some 150 protesters chanted "Dump Judge Cashman" as they demanded justice for Jonny Gammage at a rally October 26, on the steps of the city-county building here. Cashman had declared a mistrial in the case of the two suburban Pittsburgh cops who killed Gammage, a Black businessman, Oct. 12, 1995.

Joel Scilley, a member of the Campus Coalition for Peace and Justice, the organi-

zation that called the rally, cited several well-known cases of police brutality and killings in other cities. He mentioned the beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles cops and the most recent case in St. Petersburg, Florida, where police killed a Black driver October 24.

"Police brutality is a national issue," Scilley said, "therefore a victory in this case would be a national victory." He urged people to maintain the "public presence" at the courthouse when the trial of the third cop charged with killing Gammage begins.

On October 18, Judge Cashman declared a mistrial in the trial of two of the three cops charged with involuntary manslaughter in the beating death of Gammage.

As the rally was taking place, the judge was meeting with prosecuting attorneys and defense attorneys for the cops, to discuss whether he should excuse himself from the case. Cashman had allowed only the attorneys for the cops to meet with the Gammage jurors immediately after he had declared a mistrial.

Two of the jurors were so disturbed by this that they called the prosecuting attorney, Anthony Krastek. Krastek said he hadn't been informed of the meeting. One of the jurors reported to the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* that "what they [the defense] were getting was a lot of help in their case without the prosecution being present." The two jurors said defense lawyers were clearly gathering information to help plot strategy for the retrial.

Monroe Freedman, professor of law at Hofstra University in New York, said any judge who organized such a meeting for defense attorneys should disqualify himself from the case. "He has given the appearance... that he cannot be impartial in the case," Freedman stated.

The defense attorney for the third officer charged with the beating death of Gammage filed a motion to keep jurors from hearing that Brentwood cop John Vojtas said, "I hope he dies," after hearing that Gammage was in cardiac arrest. This motion and a motion to include testimony from cops in Syracuse, New York, who had stopped Gammage in traffic in the past were denied. In January 1995, police alleged that Gammage swore at them and kicked dirt at his car. Jurors will be allowed to see a news videotape of Vojtas talking and laughing with paramedics at the scene less than an hour after Gammage was beaten and asphyxiated by the police crushing his chest.

The judge also ruled that the coroner who testified against the police at the first trial will also be allowed to testify in the trial of Vojtas even though his testimony was the pretext for the mistrial of the two cops who are being tried together. Vojtas is being tried separately.

Dee Hart from the Coalition of Afro-American Justice that organized daily noon-time protests outside the Allegheny County Courthouse during the first trial, told the rally, "We've got a fight ahead of us." Referring to the Syracuse traffic stops she said, "They're using the media to try to paint Jonny Gammage as a villain. It was just plain murder."

From the pages of the *New York Times*, Sunday, November 4, 1996

GREENWICH VILLAGE



The Pathfinder Mural is being covered over because of water seepage and cracks in its wall. But another mural may go in its place.

FOR THE LOVE OF LABOR

Behind the Big Picture

Ingredients of the Pathfinder Mural
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Purpose Tribute to the working class, and promotion of Pathfinder publishing company.

Subjects 19 well-known political figures whose writings or speeches were published by Pathfinder, plus more than 100 lesser-known radical and working-class leaders.

Hands Those of 80 volunteer artists from 20 countries.

Execution 1987 to 1989.

Money \$100,000, most from private donors; \$500 from New York State.

Sources: Sam Manuel, Pathfinder project director; 1996 Pathfinder catalog

Old Revolutionaries Fading Away

In its day, the Pathfinder Mural received its fair share of negative attention. Some people called it anti-American. Vandals threw bottles of paint at it. And the city gave out \$3,500 in fines for posting handbills promoting one of its artists.

"It was controversial from the start," said Sam Manuel, the mural-project director of Pathfinder, a small publishing house specializing in works by "leaders of the working class." The mural covered an entire wall of the company's six-story building, at West and Charles Streets, and featured portraits of Fidel Castro, Karl Marx, Malcolm X and Mother Jones. It was the target of enough ill will, Mr. Manuel said, that volunteers guarded it at night so it would not be destroyed.

In the end, the controversy faded. And so has the mural itself. Citing water seepage and cracks in the wall, Pathfinder has begun covering the facade with metal siding.

"Our critics would have liked to see it sandblasted away, to have it come down in disgrace," Mr. Manuel said. "But the mural is not being removed out of defeat." He said

Pathfinder may eventually create another mural, possibly on the same wall.

The work was conceived in 1985 as both a company promotion and a tribute to the "struggle of the working class." Volunteers from 20 countries helped paint. Completed in 1989, the image, 70 feet high and 85 feet wide, depicted a press churning out pictures of people whose writings or speeches are published by Pathfinder. The background was "The March of the Fighting People," with scores of portraits, including one of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. A banner proclaimed: "A World Without Borders," in French, Spanish and English.

Private donors accounted for most of the approximately \$100,000 spent on the mural, although \$500 came from the New York State Council on the Arts.

But even that sum brought trouble. A 1989 *Daily News* editorial criticized the use of public funds for likenesses of Castro, Che Guevara and Leon Trotsky, calling the mural a "colorful, cheery celebration of mass political murder, slavery, repression and human misery." JUSTIN BROWN

Clinton's 2nd term

Continued from front page

take more from working people, and potential powder kegs abound, both within the U.S. borders and abroad.

The harsh tone of politics seen during the election campaign — the scandal- and slander-mongering — will continue as well. And ultrarightist figures like Republican presidential contender Patrick Buchanan won't be going away.

"I think you'll see us try to reach out and find a common ground with President Clinton," House Speaker Newton Gingrich said in an election night CBS news interview.

The Republican Senate leader, Trent Lott, agreed that Congress could work with Clinton "if he's really sincere about the positions he took in the campaign."

In his victory speech Clinton likewise declared that the "remarkable success of the last few weeks of this Congress" showed the importance of the Democratic White House and Republican Congress "working together." The president was referring to the series of antilabor measures he signed prior to winning a second term in office.

Agreement to go after Medicare

There is general agreement in the ruling class that one of the next tasks before the government is taking steps to whittle away at Medicare, one of the entitlements won through workers' struggles in the 1930s that covers health care for the elderly and disabled. Politicians of both parties argue that the program will "run out of funds" if it is not restructured.

"We start with saving Medicare," Congressman Gingrich told reporters on election day. "You would want to do it in a bipartisan manner." Highlighting the failure of the so-called Republican Revolution two years ago — which sought to push attacks on the working class further and faster than the Clinton administration has done — the House Speaker stressed the need to "slow down and assess" what could be pushed through Congress in its next term.

"One of the few things this campaign has done is produce a consensus that there should be a bipartisan commission to give politicians cover as they tackle Medicare after the election," stated a column in the November 6 *Wall Street Journal*.

This approach is in keeping with the process Clinton has led of beginning to assault the social wage the working class has won. This includes enacting into law:

- The Defense of Marriage Act, which bars federal recognition of same-sex marriages and establishes a group of people specifically excluded from entitlements normally available to the spouses, such as inheriting pensions of a deceased partner.
- The Welfare Reform Act, which eliminated the entitlement of Aid for Families with Dependent Children, one of the gains codified in the 1935 Social Security Act.
- Measures sharply attacking the rights of immigrants, including allowing stepped up deportations and denying many public services even to immigrants with legal documents.

Washington's attempts to roll back the social gains the working class has won ne-

cessitate the restriction of democratic rights. During his first term Clinton signed "anti-crime" and "antiterrorism" bills that expanded the death penalty, reduced prisoners' rights to appeal, and cut into other civil liberties.

Clinton has consistently moved to give greater power to the police. He used the crash of TWA Flight 800 — which the evidence increasingly suggests was the result of mechanical failure — as a pretext to sign a law October 9 doubling the Federal Aviation Administration security force and authorizing more extensive computer checks on airline passengers in the name of combating terrorism. The law also includes a provision classifying all Federal Express employees as aviation workers, thus barring them from organizing local unions.

Employers push against workers

Measures like these give wind to the employers' assaults directly on the working class, from General Motors to Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel. More and more these bosses find they need to push to take much deeper concessions than they have done so far. They are facing declining profit rates, and need to put the squeeze on workers in order to beat out their competitors.

While the mass of earnings for U.S. corporations increased in the third quarter of 1996, the rate of growth slowed down, the *Wall Street Journal* reported November 4. "In an economy that's losing its momentum, it's beginning to get tougher and tougher to earn more than in the same period a year ago," said Thomas McManus, market strategist at Morgan Stanley.

In the same third-quarter period, growth in the U.S. gross domestic product slowed to 2.2 percent. A higher rate of 4.7 percent in the previous quarter had been based on many companies building up their inventories, leaving them with full warehouses of goods they must try to unload during the rest of the year.

Throughout the July-September period, the *Wall Street Journal* reported, "edgy traders repeatedly recalled the July stock-market upheavals, when negative earnings surprises from companies like Motorola sent the Dow Jones Industrial Average reeling 7% in two turbulent weeks."

Auto is one of the industries where the bosses are seriously considering how fast they can push for deeper concessions. While making massive profits — the "Big Three" of Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors pulled in \$2.64 billion in the third quarter of 1996 — their profit margins remain extremely tight. General Motors is furthest behind in cutting high-paid union jobs and raising productivity. The contract the company has just reached with the United Auto Workers comes nowhere close to what GM needs, even though it will allow large layoffs and permanently lower wages in new parts operations.

World capitalist instability

"We must keep America the world's indispensable nation," Clinton declared in his victory speech November 5. "Finishing the unfinished business of the cold war, meeting the new threats to our security through



Democrat William Jefferson Clinton (right), ruling-class choice for president, with Newton Gingrich (left), the House speaker for a newly elected Republican Congress.

terrorism and the proliferation of dangerous weapons, and seizing these extraordinary opportunities to extend our values of peace and democracy and prosperity." In other words, the U.S. rulers need to be ready, including on the military front, to assert their control in a world of increasing inter-imperialist competition.

Just hours before Clinton's speech, thousands of workers demonstrated in hundreds of cities across Russia, demanding several months of back pay owed to them. This was one indicator of how Clinton's second term will be marked by increased instability around the world, with Washington drawn into one explosive situation after another in maintaining its dominance as the last world empire.

Other examples of the instability of capitalism worldwide abound. Just in the last several days 1.5 million metal workers in Bavaria took part in protest strikes and demonstrations against austerity moves by the German government; Pakistani prime minister Benazir Bhutto was dismissed and placed under house arrest; and both Paris and Washington probed the possibility of sending troops to intervene in Zaire.

On the eve of the election, U.S. warplanes fired missiles into Iraq twice, part of the ongoing U.S. aggression against that Middle Eastern country. The Pentagon justified the actions of U.S. pilots who, enforcing the Washington-imposed "no-fly zone" over large swaths of sovereign Iraqi territory, said they bombed Iraq after cockpit equipment suggested they had been targeted by Iraqi radar installations. U.S. military officials later acknowledged that in both instances the alarms were false.

The U.S. rulers got a taste of what can potentially explode at home when 20,000 people — overwhelmingly youth and workers — marched on Washington October 12 in defense of immigrant rights. The demonstration reflected the rise in resistance among Chicanos and Mexicans in particular to national oppression and attacks on their rights. Thousands marched in California November 6 to protest passage of the reactionary Proposition 209 gutting affirmative action. Recent protests against police killings of Blacks in St. Petersburg, Florida, and Leland, Mississippi, showed the tension brewing in the Black nationality as well.

'Family values' and 'culture war'

One of the campaign themes that won't die after the election is the demagoguery over "family values." Under this rubric, the president touted his support for teen curfews, drug testing young people who apply for a driver's license, and measures supposedly aimed at reducing out-of-wedlock births. Clinton pushes proposals such as "flexible work time" — actually an attack on overtime payments.

One of Clinton's favorite examples of his "family values" credentials is the passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act, which allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid time off work to care for a newborn or in medical emergencies — something most workers can't afford to do in any case. Like his other "pro-family" proposals, this law seeks to place the burden of meeting social needs more squarely on individual workers.

While liberals like Clinton lead the march to the right in practice on social questions like these, ultrarightist forces push what Patrick Buchanan has termed the "culture war" — campaigning to whip up emotional

energy against social norms and values that are changing in a historically progressive direction. They argue that moral decay and a corrupt elite are to blame for the social and economic crises generated by capitalism, as part of putting together a rightist cadre willing to take street action. Aspects of this right-wing ideological offensive, aimed at justifying the antilabor onslaught of the bosses, could be seen in some of the many referenda on the ballot in various states.

One ballot initiative that passed was the misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative, also referred to as Proposition 209. This referendum barred the state from using affirmative action measures in employment and education. There was substantial debate over Proposition 209 within the spectrum of bourgeois politics, as well as some important protests organized by students and workers in defense of affirmative action. In addition, former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke traveled to California to campaign in favor of 209, over the objections of the referendum's more "respectable" backers. The measure ended up carrying with 55 percent of the vote.

In Colorado, rightist forces campaigned in favor of an amendment to the state constitution that would enshrine the "inalienable right" of parents to "direct and control the upbringing, education, values, and discipline of their children." This proposition was voted down.

Each shift to the right by Clinton and his ilk emboldens those who will keep pushing this "culture war."

Coarsening of politics

As part of the rulers' offensive against the working class, the shrill tone and coarseness of bourgeois politics won't change after the election. Scandals such as the charges that Clinton received illegal campaign funds from Indonesian businessmen, the charges associated with the "Whitewater" investigation of the Clintons' business dealings, and various sexual scandals involving the president and those around him will continue. On the Republican side, Gingrich still faces an investigation by the House Ethics Committee.

Corruption and lechery are endemic to all capitalist governments. Ruling-class figures simply become more vulnerable to scandals in times of instability like today.

Forces within bourgeois politics, particularly the ultraright, use this scandal-mongering to try to drag working people — who are rightly disgusted by the rulers' hypocrisy and abuse of power — into an almost pornographic resentment against the "degenerate elite." This is the stock-and-trade of Buchanan, who made it clear when he acknowledged defeat in the Republican primary that he was only declaring a "truce." Speaking to his young supporters in the Buchanan Brigades, he declared, "This cause will prevail."

Perot, the billionaire businessman who took almost 20 percent of the presidential vote during his first campaign four years ago, does a similar thing. He promotes himself as a figure who will "clean up" the corruption of both the Democrats and Republicans.

He and his running mate, Pat Choate, added a particularly chauvinist twist around the recent campaign finance charges, repeatedly complaining that Clinton was taking "foreign money" and therefore couldn't be trusted.

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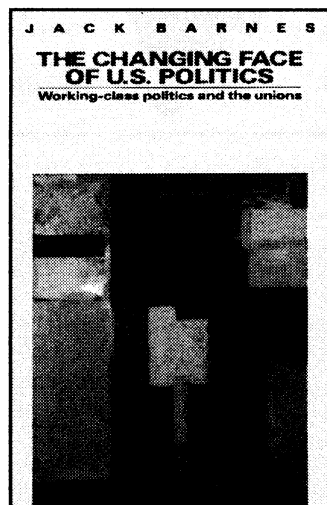
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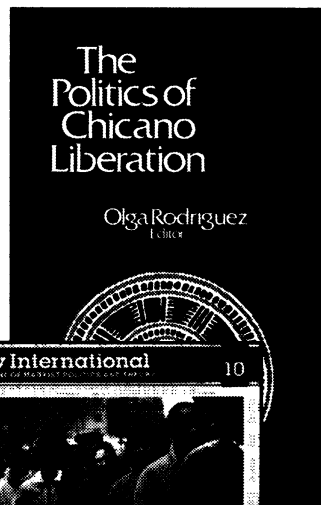


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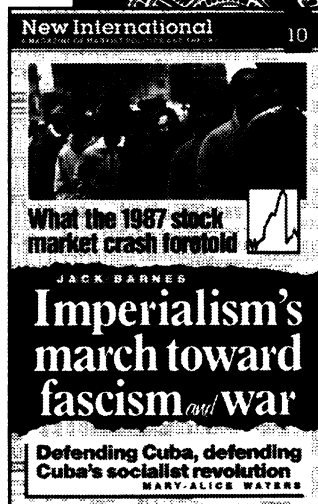
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National Black Independent Political Party contingent at 1985 demonstration in Washington, D.C.



August 1996 protest against Welfare Reform Act in Los Angeles

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Bougainville premier killed as independence fight heats up

BY BOB AIKEN

SYDNEY, Australia — Theodore Miriung, Bougainville Transitional Government (BTG) premier, was assassinated in southern Bougainville October 12. Eyewitnesses saw gunmen fleeing the scene being picked up by Papua New Guinea (PNG) military transport and taken in the direction of the PNG army base nearby. There have been reports of up to eight PNG soldiers being in the vicinity of the killing, along with at least one member of the "Resistance" militia organized by the PNG army.

Miriung was one of the leaders of an independence movement on Bougainville in 1975-76 that won a degree of autonomy as a province within the newly independent Papua New Guinea, a colony of Australia until 1975. He rose to become an acting National Court judge, but returned to Bougainville in 1990 after the war for independence had begun.

Later, in 1994, he broke with the Bougainville Revolutionary Army and the Bougainville Interim Government (BRA/BIG) to enter negotiations with PNG and establish the BTG. Miriung was appointed Bougainville premier in early 1995 by the PNG prime minister Sir Julius Chan. Miriung was murdered as the independence movement, led by the BRA/BIG, has dealt sharp blows to the PNG's military opera-

tions. Conflicts between Miriung and the PNG authorities had also deepened.

Last June, Miriung publicly opposed a major PNG military offensive, the largest of the seven year war. He has also condemned conditions in the "care centers" set up by Port Moresby, where up to 70,000 of Bougainville's population of 160,000 have been resettled. Port Moresby is the capital of Papua New Guinea.

In August, the PNG army blocked Miriung at gun point from addressing the opening of the Inter-Church Women's Forum held in the Bougainville capital of Arawa. The August 25-31 gathering of 700 women from across the PNG-held part of Bougainville demanded that they be given a role in peace talks, and called for the closing of the care centers and the withdrawal of PNG troops.

Following a major battle at Kangu Beach in southern Bougainville September 8 in which 13 PNG soldiers were killed and five captured, PNG Defense Minister Mathias Ijape ordered Miriung be placed under "military surveillance." Ijape also banned Miriung from traveling outside Buka Island where the BTG administration is based. Ijape also said he was recommending that Miriung be "removed as premier", accusing him of "inciting BRA activities on the mainland."

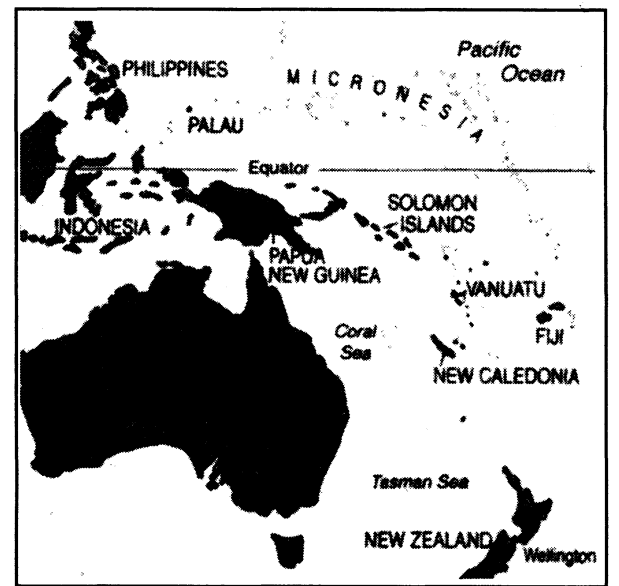
BRA/BIG president Francis Ona strongly

denied allegations from PNG Defense Force commander Brigadier-General Jerry Singirok that the BRA was involved in the assassination. "The assassin's motive strongly points towards two factors: Miriung's hard stand against the military solution by PNG on Bougainville, and the stalling of the current peace process, of which Miriung was the thin link between the BIG/BRA and the Papua New Guinea government," Ona said in a statement released October 13.

The BRA and BIG had "fully supported Miriung's efforts, dropping all doubts about his intentions," Ona said, pointing to the two rounds of talks that had taken place between the BIG and BTG in Australia in late 1995.

"Both sides in Bougainville" had been "devastated" by the killing, Moses Havini, the BIG's Sydney-based international representative said in a phone interview with the *Militant*. "The onus is on the PNG government to let the world know if any of their members were involved. The culprits must be brought to justice," he said.

"Putting the peace process back on track would be our first priority," Havini said, something that "the PNG government was already working aggressively" against before Miriung was killed.



"PNG relies heavily on Australia to continue" the war, Havini said, calling for continued pressure on Canberra to halt military aid to Port Moresby.

Bougainville is the site of a giant copper mine, closed by the war, owned by the Anglo-Australian corporation CRA/RTZ. There are a number of major Australian-owned enterprises in PNG.

The Australian government has supplied nearly \$200 million in military aid to Port Moresby since 1988. Despite this, the war is a major reason for the sharp financial crisis that is wracking the neo-colonial government in Port Moresby. In recent years, Canberra has also sought to broker a peace settlement short of granting Bougainville independence.

Robert F. Williams memorial honors life of struggle

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

DETROIT — At a November 1 meeting here to celebrate the life of civil rights fighter Robert F. Williams, the event's organizers announced plans to reprint his 1962 book, *Negroes with Guns*. Williams died October 15 of Hodgkins disease in Grand Rapids, Michigan. More than 200 people attended the commemoration held at Wayne State University in Detroit. Family, friends, and collaborators of Williams from around the United States came to give greetings. Written messages were sent from as far away as China, where Williams spent several years in exile. Williams's wife, Mabel, was warmly welcomed, as were his sons.

The effort to reprint *Negroes with Guns* is being organized by the Robert F. Williams Tribute Committee, made up of longtime Detroit Black rights activists such as General Baker, Grace Lee Boggs, Gloria House, as well as Williams's son, John.

The book tells the story of the Black community's fight against segregation and racist terror in Monroe, North Carolina, from 1957 to 1961.

Tim Tyson, a professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, gave a biographical sketch of Williams's life. Williams was born in Monroe in 1925, but as a young man moved to Detroit, where he worked at a Ford auto plant. Williams found himself in the middle of the Detroit race riot in 1943 and had to defend himself and others from racist white mobs. Later he joined the U.S. Marines. Upon his discharge, he worked in New Jersey and then decided to return to

his southern hometown to take up the fight against Jim Crow segregation and the Ku Klux Klan. Williams organized a large chapter of the NAACP made up of working-class Blacks from Monroe. He also organized a chapter of the National Rifle Association that defended the Black community against racist assault.

Negroes with Guns tells the story of the "Kissing Case." Two Black boys, aged seven and nine, were charged with "assaulting and molesting a white female" after the older one had been kissed by a seven-year-old white girl. They were arrested, thrown into the county jail, and then sentenced by a judge to the State Reformatory for Negro Boys until they were 21. The judge explained when the seven-year-old boy witnessed the kiss it had caused "his morals to become seriously impaired and he needed a term for indefinite rehabilitation." Williams and others organized the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice, which publicized this outrage internationally. The boys were finally freed after four months.

Tyson explained how one member of the Monroe NAACP chapter, Dr. Albert Perry, was especially hated by the Ku Klux Klan

because he owned a brick house on the highway. One night when the Klansmen had whipped themselves into a fury at their local headquarters, they got in their cars and headed for Perry's house. They were met there by a large group of armed Blacks from Williams' Rifle Club, behind sandbag fortifications. When they heard a hail of gunfire, the racists threw their cars into reverse and quickly retreated. Shortly afterwards, the city passed an ordinance against KKK motorcades, which previously had been escorted by the local police.

Other speakers noted how Williams's actions won him notoriety. The Monroe chapter was disbanded by the National NAACP, under the leadership of Roy Wilkins. But there was not unanimous agreement.

Charles Simmons, now a professor of journalism at Eastern Michigan University, recalled that a debate over whether Williams's tactics were "the Christian thing to do" broke out at the first NAACP chapter meeting he attended in Detroit in the late 1950s. When Simmons finally met Williams in Cuba in 1964, he asked him about this. The fighter's reply was, "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition!"

Dr. Reginald Wilson, a friend of Williams who now lives in Washington, D.C., described how he smuggled guns to Monroe from Detroit in the trunk of his car. "I also took along a tape recorder to record the story of the struggle in Monroe for the folk back home," he said. But when he returned to Michigan neither the Black press, nor the Black radio station would run the story.

In 1961, Williams and his family were forced to flee the country after a phony charge of kidnapping was leveled against him and an FBI dragnet was set up. Williams went to Cuba where he broadcast a radio show called "Radio Free Dixie," back into the United States. General Baker described how he and other activists eagerly waited each week to listen to the broadcasts.

The reprint of *Negroes with Guns* will be an important contribution to the historical record of the civil rights movement and one that today's fighters for justice and freedom will want to read. It was included in the *Militant's* recommended reading list when it was originally published.

Holly Harkness is a member of United Auto Workers Local 235.

Cuban diplomat will tour in Texas

BY PATTI IYAMA

HOUSTON — Working people and youth throughout southern Texas will have an opportunity to hear first-hand about socialist Cuba November 11-17. Dagoberto Rodríguez, first secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., will be speaking at campuses and in working-class communities in several cities.

Since the U.S. government refuses to establish normal diplomatic relations with Cuba, there is no exchange of embassies between the two countries. Instead Washington and Havana maintain "Interest Sections" in each other's capital city in lieu of a formal diplomatic mission. Rodríguez is the second most senior official of the Interests Section.

"What's so encouraging about this tour is the tremendous interest it has generated across such a wide spectrum, many of whom have not been directly associated with hosting Cuban speakers before," said Tom Kleven, a professor of Law at Texas Southern University. Kleven helps coordinate the Ad Hoc Committee and is also a leader of the Cuba Coalition of Houston, an on-going Cuba defense group.

A major public address is scheduled in Houston on November 12 at the University of Houston, entitled "Cuba: Moving

into the 21st Century." It is co-hosted by the Cuba Friendship Committee, Hispanic Student Association, MEChA, Latina Coalition, La Raza Student Alliance, Pan-African People for Progressive Action (PAPPA), Student Program Board, University of Houston National Organization for Women (NOW), University of Houston-University of Havana Sister Campus Project, and the Young Socialists. The student groups are conducting an ambitious program of leafleting, mailings, posting on campus, and ads in the student paper.

Rodríguez will be speaking on "How Cuba has dealt with racism" at the Shrine of the Black Madonna on November 13. This public event is co-hosted by some of the most prominent African-American figures in Houston.

In Houston, Rodríguez is scheduled to speak at two other campuses; Texas Southern University, a primarily Black college, where he will speak to a political science class open to all students that day, and North Harris Community College, which is co-sponsored by the Hispanic Student Forum and the International Student Association. Rodríguez will give a number of radio interviews, including an appearance on the most popular Spanish-language radio talk show in Houston. There is also an informal

meeting with workers from several unions.

A highlight of Rodríguez's tour of Texas is expected to be his visit to the Rio Grande Valley. This nearly 100-mile stretch along the U.S.-Mexico border is unique because of its rich cultural heritage and the immediate impact that developments in Mexico have on the region. Primarily an agricultural area, but with a growing industrial base, the Valley boasts a heavy concentration of Mexican-American, Mexicano and other Latin workers and students.

There he will speak at the University of Texas, Pan American, in Edinburg, Texas, and address a public meeting at the San Benito Community Center at the eastern end of the Valley. On November 15 in San Antonio, the Cuban official will speak at the University of the Incarnate Word and a public meeting at the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center.

Rodríguez is also scheduled to lead a workshop titled "Tejano youth dialogue with Cuba" at the eighth annual Tejano/Tejano Student Unity Conference at the University of Houston November 16.

For further information, call Prof. Tom Kleven, (713) 313-7355.

Patti Iiyama is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227.

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GM wins concessions in Canadian strike

BY JOANNE WALLADOR

OSHAWA, Ontario — "The strike made a point with the Harris government [in Ontario]. We saw the OPSEU [public workers] strike last year and what's happening to hospital workers today. Harris would be happy if he could hire part-timers and not have to pay benefits. GM wants to do the same thing."

That's what Leroy Campbell, an assembly line worker at the Oshawa car plant, said in an interview on the 20-day walkout by 26,000 Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) against General Motors in October. Campbell was also referring to the austerity drive by the provincial government of Michael Harris in Ontario, which has provoked numerous labor protests and strikes.

GM prepared for the CAW strike and was ready to take a shutdown to win concessions from the union. The company achieved most of its objectives. While the auto giant made record profits in 1995, the company says it must cut up to 70,000 jobs to be competitive. According to the 1996 edition of the Harbour Report, Chrysler can assemble a car with 2.58 workers compared to GM's 3.64 for a comparable automobile. A key part of GM's strategy to lower its labor costs is to sell off its Delphi parts division and outsource more of its production.

The company had the backing of its stockholders in this fight. An article in the October 29 *USA Today* said the value of GM stocks began climbing leading up to the strike. "Wall Street is gleefully watching General Motors battle its unions," it said. "The past month, GM stock rose \$6 a share, a climb worth more than \$4.53 billion.... The walkout ended last week and cost GM \$350 million in production, a fraction of the increase in market value."

CAW members ratified the three-year contract reached by GM and union officials by nearly 90 percent of those who cast ballots. GM obtained union approval for the

sale of two Delphi parts plants in Windsor and Oshawa, which employ some 3,400 workers. Although there are limits on further outsourcing, CAW president Basil Hargrove conceded that GM has some "unique needs" in this area. The contract also allows GM to cut jobs through changes in technology, discontinuation of a product line, or changes in the market.

The accord includes annual wage increases of 2 percent plus cost of living adjustments. In Oshawa, workers won an end to mandatory overtime after eight hours work per day. Their regular workweek is 48 hours.

Dean Munger, GM's chief negotiator described the union's acquiescence in the sale of the two plants as the company's biggest coup. This was an important break with the pattern contract negotiated with Chrysler that bans the sale of plants for the life of the agreement.

"I'm disappointed the sale went ahead. But I don't know if we could have stopped GM from selling the plants," said Winnie Duncan, who has worked at GM for 22 years. "At least we got a lot of provisions for the people who will be affected."

She was referring to over 3,000 buyout packages that will be offered to workers eligible for early retirement, and GM's agreement to cover wages for three years and benefits for nine years if the buyer of the plants can't meet the CAW contract on these points. While GM attained its major objectives in this round of the fight, union members are far from out of the ring.

Karen Dolan, who works in the Oshawa Fabrication plant that is slated to be sold, told *Militant* reporters that over 50 tool and die makers stopped work for several hours on October 25 because it isn't clear that they have "flow rights" back into GM as they have understood from the agreement. Two busloads of them went to interrupt CAW negotiations with Ford of Canada in order



Militant/John Steele

Oshawa auto workers picket GM plant October 3, the first day of their walkout.

to speak directly to CAW president Hargrove this past week.

As workers streamed into the ratification meetings, the mood was sober and thoughtful. "We can't accept this with a big margin," said Robert Milot, who has worked at the Ste. Thérèse plant for 23 years. "We have to let the company know that we're not happy." Michel Perron, who has been laid off from the assembly plant, commented, "We've made gains but the biggest point that we haven't made progress on is the question of line speed. It's because the speed is so fast that we wildcatted in January '95."

Many Chrysler workers, who settled over a month ago, feel the same way. A "town-hall" meeting of Chrysler assembly workers in Bramalea, Ontario, with the plant manager was abruptly ended when workers kept interrupting him to protest "overloading" of assembly jobs.

Brad Culetto, a Chrysler employee who previously worked at the closed GM Scarborough van plant, said, "My first in-

terest is not what happens to me."

This spirit to continue resisting the concession demands by the auto giants was apparent in the lively contingents of CAW members from Oshawa and St. Catharines who participated in the Toronto Days of Action to protest cuts in social services by the Harris government.

CAW members appreciated the solidarity with their struggle the United Auto Workers members in the United States, who were laid off as a consequence of the strike in Canada, expressed in TV interviews. "We have to support them even if we get laid off," said CAW member Duncan, referring to the possibility of walkouts by UAW members against GM in the United States. "Busloads of us should go down and show our support."

Michel Dugré, a member of the International Association of Machinists at JW Johnson in Montreal, contributed to this article.

Socialists build regional educational conferences

Continued from front page

ers. One grocery worker there is now making plans to go to the conference in Peoria. Over the next two weeks, socialist workers and YS members in Peoria will travel to five colleges in the region and in St. Louis. The team will follow up on a recent campaign tour stop by Laura Garza in this region, which helped kick off efforts to build the socialist conference in Peoria.

Socialists in California are organizing weekly sales in working-class neighborhoods and campuses in Fresno, where three young fighters for Chicano rights recently joined the Young Socialists. Coming out of the protests against the anti-affirmative action initiative known as Proposition 209, the YS chapter in San Francisco is now beginning a class series on the Pathfinder book

The Politics of Chicano Liberation.

From the Wheeling-Pittsburgh strike, to demonstrations against government attacks on immigrants, socialists have found new interest among youth for an alternative to the dog-eat-dog system of capitalism. Leading up to the regional conferences, Young Socialists are projecting classes to build the gatherings and win these young fighters to communist politics.

"The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Charting the working-class road to socialist revolution" is the theme of the educational conferences. They will center on building the kind of proletarian party and communist youth organization that will be capable of leading workers and their allies in the class battles ahead on the road toward taking state power away from the hands of

America's ruling 60 families.

Each conference will feature four major presentations, which will be given by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists. They will highlight a discussion of today's capitalist world disorder and the class tensions, political polarization, and working-class resistance it engenders. The talks are:

- * Fighting Clinton's bipartisan assault on the working class;
- * Defend workers in power — emulate Cuba's socialist revolution;
- * The revolutionary potential of the working class — communist work and the trade unions; and
- * Organizing the gravediggers of capitalism — building the Young Socialists.

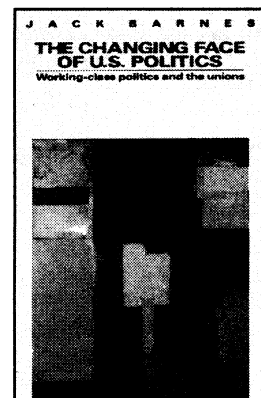
A variety of classes will also be held at

each of the conferences to discuss subjects like the rise of the Chicano and *Mexicano* movement; the place of the Black nationality in the fight for the socialist revolution; the history of the Russian revolution; the fight against government and employer spying and harassment; women's liberation and the Marxist movement; the crisis facing working farmers; the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism; and fascism: what it is and how to fight it.

The Young Socialists and Socialist Workers Party are inviting all those who hate capitalism and want to fight to change the world to attend one of the conferences. Transportation to the four regional events is being organized from two dozen cities around the United States. For the nearest location, see the listings on page 12.

Available from Pathfinder

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics Working-class Politics and the Trade Unions



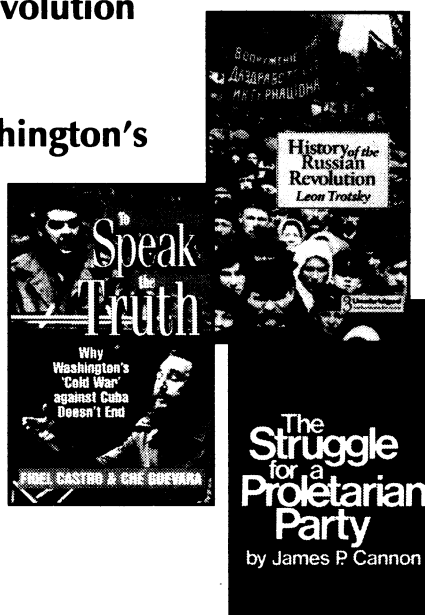
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by James P. Cannon \$19.95



U.S. gov't contemplates Zaire intervention

Continued from front page

Rwanda's former colonial master that had backed the country's former regime, as the main imperialist force in that country. Washington had initially planned to set up its main base in Goma, Zaire, not Kigali, but relented after the French government complained that Goma was its turf.

Tensions have heightened between Washington and Paris lately over former colonies in Africa. In early October, U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher visited several African countries touting a plan for a regional "peace force." The U.S. scheme would provide financing, training, supplies, military support, and transport to a force of as many as 10,000 soldiers drawn from African armies. This "Africa Crisis Response Force" would be used to intervene in conflicts throughout the continent. Washington's proposal initially drew resentment and criticism from government officials in several African countries, especially South African president Nelson Mandela.

On November 1, U.S. national security adviser Anthony Lake and Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff met their French counterparts and French president Jacques Chirac in Paris to try to smooth frictions over intervention in Africa.

How fighting erupted in Zaire

The recent conflict in eastern Zaire erupted in late October when local politicians in southern Kivu province announced a plan to push Tutsi who had lived in Zaire for more than two centuries, known as Banyamulenge, into Rwanda. But residents in the area fought back. The rebels pushed the Zairian army out of the city of Bukavu, in the south of Lake Kivu, first, and then took over Goma.

During the battle over Goma, the army of Rwanda shelled Zairian troops defending the city across the border. Reporters of London's *Financial Times* and other big-business papers who were in Goma after the takeover by the rebels claimed to have seen soldiers speaking Kinyarwanda, Rwanda's national tongue, in the city. The government of Rwanda denies accusations that its forces crossed the border to help the rebels.

During the fighting, hundreds of thousands of refugees, mostly of Hutu origin, who had fled Rwanda since 1994 and lived in refugee camps around Goma near Zaire's borders with Uganda and Rwanda, began fleeing further into Zaire. On November 5, the rebels who took over Goma announced a cease-fire and invited officials of the United Nations and other international agencies to resume deliveries of aid to refugees.

The camps were set up in 1994, when more than 1.2 million refugees of Hutu origin crossed the border into Zaire from Rwanda.

Members of the Rwandan capitalist class who are Hutu had ruled Rwanda since colonial rule ended in 1962. Paris had backed the 20-year brutal reign of former Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana and had 2,500 troops in that country for some time. After Habyarimana and the president of neighboring Burundi died in a plane crash in April 1994, Rwandan government troops and vigilante squads carried out massacres of 500,000 people. In addition to political opponents of the government, many of those massacred were of Tutsi origin. About 85 percent of the population of Rwanda is considered Hutu, and 15 percent are Tutsi.

Before the government was defeated by the forces organized by the Tutsi-dominated RPF in July 1994, Kigali officials ordered a mass exodus of the country, spreading rumors that the RPF would kill anyone suspected of being of Hutu origin. As a result, more than a million fled Rwanda, joining hundreds of thousands of other refugees who had escaped the government-sponsored killing earlier. Since then, more than 1.2 million have been living — and dying — in disease ridden camps in Zaire and neighboring countries.

The rebels who now control parts of Kivu province in eastern Zaire are led by André Ngandu Kassasse, a leader of a bourgeois opposition group who seeks to oust Zairian president Mobutu Sese Seko. On November 5 Kassasse called the conflict "a popular uprising against President Mobutu Sese Seko."

He added that the forces he commands cut across ethnic lines. Kassasse comes from the west central region of Kasai and is not a Tutsi. The rebellion is not a tribal fight, he

told the *New York Times*, but a struggle for control of Zaire.

Tensions between the capitalist regimes of Zaire and Rwanda have risen after the takeover of Goma by the rebels. Reports from Kinshasa, Zaire's capital, allege that weapons are pouring in the country from France and Egypt in preparation for a large-scale air and ground attack on Rwanda within the next two or three weeks.

On November 5, thousands of students reportedly demonstrated in the streets of Kinshasa in favor of the war effort. They marched despite a government ban on public protests. Zairian army troops eventually dispersed protesters, but no one was wounded. Student leaders called for Prime Minister Leon Kengo wa Dondo to step down, claiming he was not a true Zairian as the son of a Rwandan mother and a Polish father. Some students say Kengo should have declared war against Rwanda and Burundi. "You tell the world we want Kengo out," a student whom the *New York Times* identified as Mayambe reportedly said. "He's a Rwandan, not a Zairian. All the military is corrupt. All our politicians are corrupt. We want the liberation of our land. We war war!" Zaire's opposition parties are largely united in their support for war.

History of imperialist intervention

The crisis is exacerbated by the uncertain health of Zaire's president Mobutu, who has prostate cancer and is recovering from recent surgery in Switzerland. Mobutu has

ruled Zaire as a dictator for the last 30 years.

The Congo (now Zaire), with 38 million people, became a Belgian colony in the late 1870s. It was prized for its natural resources, above all rubber.

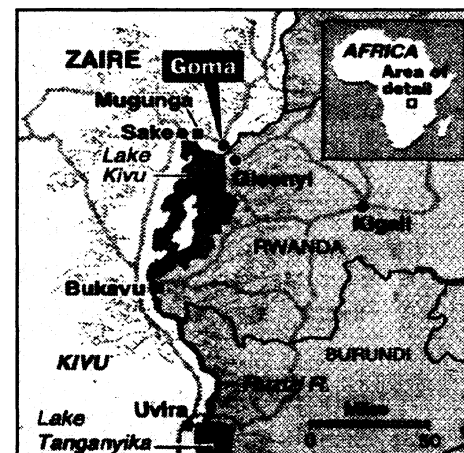
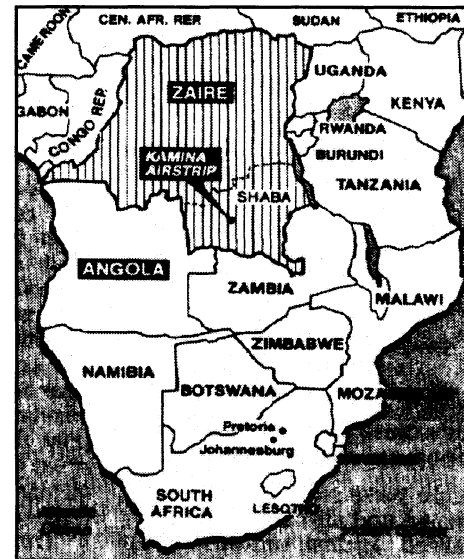
Today, the country's mineral-rich Shaba region in the south produces about two-thirds of the world's cobalt. Zaire leads the world in industrial diamond production and ranks sixth in copper production. Zinc, tin, manganese, gold, silver, iron ore, and uranium are also found. Energy resources also include 13 percent of the world's total hydroelectric potential, oil reserves along the Atlantic coast, and some coal deposits. Agriculture employs about two-thirds of the population; most are subsistence farmers producing small crops like corn, bananas, and rice.

Belgian rule was characterized by extreme brutality, particularly in the colonizers' efforts to collect rubber.

The Congo gained its independence in June 1960. A general election gave a majority of seats in the new parliament to the movement headed by Patrice Lumumba, the leader of the independence struggle. Lumumba became the country's first prime minister.

Determined to maintain its hold over the country's resources, Belgium's rulers backed an antigovernment rebellion in Katanga province, the site of major deposits of uranium, cobalt, copper, and other resources owned by U.S., British, and Belgian

Continued on Page 14



MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

FLORIDA

Miami

Why Washington Intensifies Its Attacks Against the Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Ernie Mailhot, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, activist in the Miami Coalition to End the Embargo on Cuba. Fri., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Peoria

Corporate Mega-Hog Facilities and the Crisis Facing Working Farmers. Speakers: Chirag Mehta, Illinois Stewardship Alliance; Angel Lariscy, Socialist Workers Party; and a representative of Families Against Rural Messes (FARM).

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How Can We Achieve Quality Public Education? Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Crisis Facing Farmers and the 1996 Farm Bill. Speaker: Bill Kalman, Iowa Socialist Workers Party. Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. **Revolutionary Cuba in the World Today.** Fri., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. Both events to be held at 2490 University Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (612) 644-

6325.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

East Timor — U.S. Complicity in Genocide.

Video showing of an excerpt from "East Timor: Death of a Nation" by John Pilger. Presenters: John Brennan and Jonathan Rose, representatives, East Timor Action Network. Fri., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 1405 East Madison. Donation: \$4. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

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Their Morals and Ours. Speaker: Chris Morris. Fri., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. 60 Shudehill. Donation: £2. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

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You don't hate capitalism? — A post mortem indicated that Vijay Saini, 19, an undocumented immigrant, had already frozen to death when his body hurtled from a passenger jet approaching London's Heathrow Airport. He had stowed away in the wheel bay and fell out when the undercarriage doors opened.



Harry Ring

senger jet approaching London's Heathrow Airport. He had stowed away in the wheel bay and fell out when the undercarriage doors opened.

Thanks Bill — Against a backdrop of desert cactus, the ad says: "Law Enforcement Opportunities in the Great Outdoors. Join the Border Patrol.... One of the fastest growing law enforcement teams in the country."

Immutable soul? — We've pondered the declaration by Pope John Paul II that "the theory of evolution is more than a hypothesis," but it doesn't apply to the soul. True, there is no scientific evidence that the soul has been affected by the evolutionary process.

So, at the risk of sounding like a skeptic, could we inquire: Doesn't this perhaps suggest the soul does

not exist?

Capitalism keeps the family together — In Spain, a study found that as a result of rising unemployment, 52 percent of people age 25 to 30 are still living with their parents, almost twice as many as a decade ago.

Free enterprise at its finest — Dallas (AP) — "For \$25 you can sit in the back of an open-top limousine making its way through Dealey Plaza, hear the crack of rifle fire as you glide past the Texas School Book Depository and feel the car speed up as it roars toward Parkland Memorial Hospital. It's one of Dal-

las' newest tourist attractions built around the assassination of John F. Kennedy, and some say it's sick and exploitative."

Good as most reasons they give — "I believe Jeff Gillespie was negligent. I believe he engaged in...malpractice.... I believe that Eric Shaw's death was what the law would call a wrongful death." — Johnson County, Iowa, Attorney Patrick White, said while explaining why he will not prosecute police officer Gillespie, who shot and killed Shaw.

Who says downsizing hurts — Over the past three years, Britain's

350 biggest companies paid out more than \$100 million in early dismissal compensation to departing executives.

Bring toothbrush and \$\$\$ — U.S. hospitals love cash-heavy patients from third world countries. The international business coordinator at Florida's Tampa General chortles: "This past week, I got a wire for \$75,000 for a deposit toward a kidney transplant. The patient isn't even here yet and I have money in the bank." Adds the international marketing director at Houston's Methodist Hospital: "They come to us with money in a suitcase."

Housing crisis is a product of capitalism

Printed below are excerpts from the pamphlet *The Housing Question* by Frederick Engels. It originally appeared in 1872 as three articles in the *Volksstaat*, a revolutionary newspaper of the German working class movement. This excerpt addressed the views of Emil Sax, a liberal bourgeois economist of the day. The main points Engels makes about the crisis in capitalist society read as if they were written today.

The Housing Question provides an explanation to the facts presented in a six-part series that appeared in the *New York Times* in early October describing the horrendous housing conditions in New York City. Landlords charging outrageous rent for decaying,

BOOK OF THE WEEK

roach-infested apartments is endemic in New York and other cities throughout the world. The final article in the *Times* series cited the views of an urban planning professor, Peter Salins, on how to resolve the housing problem. "If New York were to eliminate rent control and rent stabilization, which limit rent increases on more than 1.1 million apartments, Mr. Salins said, private developers would have more incentive to build new housing for the middle and upper classes and in the process would free up older housing for the poor."

As long as capitalism exists, however, it will keep on reproducing its evils on a larger and larger scale — whether these evils be unemployment, periodic depressions, pollution, war, or the housing shortage. As Engels explained in the pamphlet, only by abolishing capitalism can the evils that arise from it be eliminated.



BY FREDERICK ENGELS

Modern natural science has proved that the so-called "poor districts," in which the workers are crowded together, are the breeding places of all those epidemics which from time to time afflict our towns. Cholera, typhus, typhoid fever, smallpox and other ravaging diseases spread their germs in the pestilential air and the poisoned water of these working-class quarters. Here the germs hardly ever die out completely, and as soon as circumstances permit they develop into epidemics and then spread beyond their breeding places into the more airy and healthy parts of the town inhabited by the capitalists. Capitalist rule cannot allow itself the pleasure of generating epidemic diseases among the working class with impu-

nity; the consequences fall back on it and the angel of death rages in its ranks as ruthlessly as in the ranks of the workers.

As soon as this fact had been scientifically established the philanthropic bourgeois became inflamed with a noble spirit of competition in their solicitude for the health of their workers. Societies were founded, books were written, proposals drawn up, laws debated and passed, in order to stop up the sources of the ever-recurring epidemics. The housing conditions of the workers were investigated and attempts made to remedy the most crying evils. In England particularly, where the largest number of big towns existed and where the bourgeoisie itself was, therefore, running the greatest risk, extensive activity began.

Government commissions were appointed to inquire into the hygienic conditions of the working class. Their reports, honourably distinguished from all continental sources by their accuracy, completeness and impartiality, provided the basis for new, more or less thoroughgoing laws. Imperfect as these laws are, they are still infinitely superior to everything that has been done in this direction up to the present on the Continent. Nevertheless, the capitalist order of society reproduces again and again the evils to be remedied, and does so with such inevitable necessity that even in England the remedying of them has hardly advanced a single step....

Whence the housing shortage then? How did it arise? As a good bourgeois, Herr Sax is not supposed to know that it is a necessary product of the bourgeois social order; that it cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great labouring masses are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is to say, upon the quantity of means of subsistence necessary for their existence and for the propagation of their kind; in which improvements of the machinery, etc., continually throw masses of workers out of employment; in which violent and regularly recurring industrial fluctuations determine on the one hand the existence of a large reserve army of unemployed workers, and on the other hand drive the mass of the workers from time to time on to the streets unemployed; in which the workers are crowded together in masses in the big towns at a quicker rate than dwellings come into existence for them under the prevailing conditions; in which, therefore, there must always be tenants even for the most infamous pigsties; and in which finally the houseowner in his capacity as capitalist has not only the right but, by reason of competition, to a certain extent also the duty of ruthlessly making as much out of his property in house rent as he possibly can.

In such a society the housing shortage is



Homeless march in Pennsylvania, August 1996, protests cuts on social entitlements.

no accident; it is a necessary institution and can be abolished together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned. That, however, bourgeois socialism dare not know. It dare not explain the housing shortage as arising from the existing conditions. And therefore it has no other way but to explain the housing shortage by moralizing that it is the result of the wickedness of man, the result of original sin, so to speak....

This is a striking example of how the bourgeoisie settles the housing question in practice. The breeding places of disease, the in-

famous holes and cellars in which the capitalist mode of production confines our workers night after night, are not abolished they are merely *shifted elsewhere!* The same economic necessity which produced them in the first place produces them in the next place also. As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist it is folly to hope for an isolated settlement of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the lot of the workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of subsistence and instruments of labour by the working class itself.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

November 19, 1971

Price 10¢

PARIS — Twenty thousand people participated today in the anti-Vietnam war demonstration in Paris called by the Indochinese Solidarity Front. Called in response to the international appeal issued by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) for actions in solidarity with the November 6 demonstration in the U.S., the Paris action was marked by spirited songs and chants and an overwhelmingly youthful composition.

Among the slogans were "Long live the U.S. antiwar movement"; "Thieu is a puppet — the Saigon elections are a 'fake'"; "Nixon, murderer — Pompidou accomplice," and "Washington, Paris — everyone into the streets with the Indochinese Front."

A brief rally following the march heard one of France's most famous actors, Michel Piccoli, hail the Indochinese people. Piccoli went on to say that "Only the masses of people can put an end to this war and bring peace to Indochina and the world. We call upon the people to take to the streets and oppose this war."

It is clear that if the French Communist Party (PCF) were to participate in real united front against the war in Indochina, this question would rapidly become a major issue in

French politics.

However, up to now the PCF has remained adamant in its refusal to join in united actions with groups to its left.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y.

FIVE (5) CENTS

November 16, 1946

For the past six years since 1940, almost 15,000 objectors to war on religious, moral, or political grounds have been the victims of savage political persecution by U.S. imperialism. Wall Street thus carried out its determination to terrorize and subjugate all who, for any reason whatever, oppose its plans for war and world domination. The war ended over a year ago, yet today there are still 1,000 conscientious objectors (CO) locked behind prison bars.

Among the CO's are many active trade unionists. Some of them were organizers for the CIO. During the war, these forced labor camps were cited in the Senate as ample precedent for a labor draft of all workers. Hundreds of COs were sent to prison because they refused the alternative of working in Civilian Public Service camps.

They [COs] protested against being treated as criminals, against regimentation, against conscription, against Truman's threat to draft workers as strikebreakers. Hundreds walked out of the camps and were sent to prison where they continued their struggle, not only against participation in the war, but in defense of labor's rights.

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The Housing Question

Frederick Engels

Why the shortage of housing is a necessary product of the capitalist social and economic order. \$5.00

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Build socialist conferences

As he begins his second term, William Clinton and the ruling Democrat-Republican party coalition are readying to deepen their attack against Social Security and other historical social gains of working people. The government will not stop its assault against democratic rights, and will resort to a bolder use of the police and the death penalty in its efforts to intimidate the working class.

The Clinton administration is driving now to a military intervention — disguised as a humanitarian mission — in Central Africa. In order to defend the interests of a handful of multi-millionaire families, Washington will keep launching aggressions around the world, from revolutionary Cuba to Yugoslavia and the Middle East.

However, the wealthy rulers in the United States and other countries are meeting resistance within the working class. The October 12 immigrant rights march in Washington, D.C., was a signal of two phenomenon: the increasing protests against the government's anti-immigrant policy, and the rise of a new social movement of Chicanos and Mexicans. Other signs of workers' resistance are the protests against police brutality, from the Bronx, New York to St. Petersburg, Florida, as well as the strike of 4,500 steelworkers against Wheeling-Pittsburgh.

In this world of increasing turbulence and capitalist brutality, more workers and youth look for an alternative.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists put forward that unemployment, racist attacks, women's oppression, war and the appearance of fascist outfits are inherent to the capitalist system in decline. SWP and YS members participate in today's struggle with the perspective of building a massive movement of workers and farmers that will overthrow the U.S. capitalist class and take power.

We encourage our readers to spread the word of this revolutionary perspective by joining the campaign to win 425 new subscribers to *Perspectiva Mundial* and 1,200 to the *Militant*. You are also invited to participate in the teams of volunteers that will sell subscriptions in the coal mine pits of West Virginia and around Pittsburgh, and to farmers and meatpacking workers in the north central region of Iowa, Nebraska and South Dakota. You can contact the nearby distributors of these publications (see listings on page 12) to join the teams.

Above all, we invite you to build and participate in the regional educational conferences in Atlanta, Peoria, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C., sponsored by the SWP and the Young Socialists from November 29 to December 1 (see front page article). These gatherings will be a place to learn more about the communist movement and how you can join it.

Working-class fight for safety

The string of plane crashes, train collisions, refinery explosions, and other industrial catastrophes over the past few years, are a direct result of cost-cutting and downsizing by the bosses in their attempts to shore up sagging profit margins. They have reduced maintenance crews and safety equipment, while imposing longer working hours on fewer workers. This drive by the employers for profit directly threatens workers' and public safety. It is the other side of the capitalist class's assault on the social wage of working people — which includes welfare, pension benefits, and Social Security.

The U.S. government has conducted the largest and most expensive investigation in aviation history — including 3,200 forays by scuba divers. Despite lack of evidence, Washington refuses to drop the theory that a bomb caused the crash of TWA Flight 800. The Clinton administration is trying to use the crash to push its "antiterrorist" propaganda as a way to advance undemocratic measures. This is aimed at intimidating fighters who oppose the rulers' offensive against social gains and union activists protesting the bosses' cutbacks on the job.

Working conditions and public safety will worsen un-

less class conscious fighters struggle against these assaults. A stronger union increases safety on the railroads, in the airlines and mines, and in other workplaces. Public safety improves when union militants stand up and fight to improve working conditions, shorten the hours of labor, and increase wages.

The labor movement must put itself in the middle of the fight for universal social security protection, real health and safety enforcement, and effective protection of the environment.

More unions should emulate the Association of Flight Attendants' protest against the government's decision to permit ValuJet Airlines to resume flights following a deadly crash in May. That disaster is one example of how the wealthy owners of capital and their government will disregard the lives of millions of people in order to maximize profits.

The question of safety is a fundamental matter of working-class pride and morale. That's why working people around the world must take the moral high ground in the battle against the exploiting class and oppose their "antiterror" measures, as well as the bosses' cuts on safety.

1.5 million metalworkers protest in Bavaria

Continued from front page

80 percent of the employers in Bavaria's metal industry are for applying the new federal law that would lower sick leave pay from 100 percent to 80 percent of wages retroactively to October 1. Faced with successive waves of labor protests, however, the bosses have backed off for the moment and continue to pay sick leave equal to 100 percent of wages stipulated in existing union contracts.

Speaking to 15,000 workers outside the Audi auto factory in Ingolstadt, Bavarian chairman of IG Metall Werner Neugebauer said, "We are not for a strike, but if there is no agreement after February 28 there can be a strike." IG Metall officials in Bavaria say they will defend 100 percent sick leave payments in new contracts, and will stick to maintaining current vacation and holiday pay. These officials say they are willing to negotiate compromises on wage raises instead.

On November 7 a second round of talks was scheduled to open between employers and IG Metall in the state of Baden-Württemberg. Both the bosses and union tops in that state hope a pilot agreement can be reached there, which may be applied nationwide. Sections of the ruling class in Germany are becoming nervous that the strikes and protests could get out of the control of the union officialdom. These capitalist politicians favor compromise with the unions. But the stakes are high for the rulers in Germany who have announced they will bring down the budget deficit by cutting the social wage, so that they can enter the European Union's "common" currency before the end of the century.

Carl-Erik Isacson is a member of the Metalworkers Union at the Scania truck plant in Södertälje, Sweden.

Washington, Paris prepare intervention into Zaire

Continued from Page 12

capitalists. The head of Katanga's secessionist forces was Moise Tshombe, a wealthy plantation owner and businessman. Behind Tshombe stood 10,000 Belgian troops.

To counter the Belgian-backed uprising, Lumumba appealed to the United Nations. The first "peacekeepers" arrived in July 1960. Instead of combating the rebellion, however, UN troops disarmed Lumumba's forces, effectively aiding the Belgian troops and Tshombe's rebels.

In September 1960, at the instigation of the U.S. embassy, a section of the Congolese army led by Col. Mobutu Sese Seko seized power in a coup against Lumumba. UN forces stood aside as the elected government was ousted. A few months later Lumumba was arrested and handed over to Tshombe who had him murdered in 1961. With Lumumba out of the way, Washington moved to end the Katanga uprising, pushing Tshombe into exile. UN troops withdrew in 1964, leaving Mobutu as the Congo's strongman.

As anti-imperialist forces continued the struggle to liberate their country, Mobutu brought back Tshombe, named him prime minister, and organized an army of mercenaries who, backed by U.S. air power and intervention by other imperialist forces, crushed the rebels.

Washington, Paris, and other imperialist powers have relied on Mobutu's dictatorial rule ever since to maintain Zaire's superexploitation as a semicolonial country. They are now contemplating intervention as Mobutu's rule has weakened in the face of a deep social and economic crisis and Mobutu's declining ability to divide opposition by inciting ethnic violence.

Real wages in the early 1990s were less than 10 percent of those in 1960. The rate of inflation in 1992 was 2,735 percent. As economic decline continued, the social crisis was heightened with Mobutu's illness, which has created a power vacuum in which the imperialist powers now are trying to fill with their own ruler.

Editorials in the *New York Times* have called for U.S. "humanitarian" intervention. Columnist Edward Mortimer wrote in the November 6 *Financial Times*, "Will the West end up fighting in central Africa? If things get bad enough, I suspect we will."

Safety cuts cause more airline crashes

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

New York — One of the worst disasters in aviation history, the July 17 crash of Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 800 that killed all 230 people aboard, still officially remains "unsolved." This exists despite the fact that the government has conducted the largest and most expensive effort in aviation history to recover parts of the plane off the ocean floor.

Meanwhile, a string of accidents continue to plague the industry. A Fokker-100 aircraft of Brazil's TAM airline crashed into a heavily populated area of São Paulo shortly after takeoff on October 31, killing all 96 people aboard and at least eight people on the ground.

In spite of overwhelmingly evidence to the contrary, the U.S. government, TWA, and Boeing have attempted to prove that Flight 800 crashed as a result of a bomb. Despite the fact that this effort has met little success, they have refused to give up the bomb theory. In this way they hoped to use the crash to further their campaign to curtail democratic rights.

According to a *New York Times* article on October 26, they state that "federal officials have tentatively decided to take a series of new steps in the inquiry, including reconstructing a large section of the Boeing 747 that exploded on July 17 and blowing up another 747 to test various theories about the crash." About 95 percent of the plane has been recovered so far.

FBI can't find "Eureka piece"

James Kallstrom the FBI official in charge of the investigation told an October 2 government briefing in Washington that the salvage effort had still not found "the Eureka piece" — the piece that the government hoped would prove their bomb theory. That meeting included the FBI director and the staff official in charge of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security.

A public debate has opened up as overwhelming evidence mounts that Flight 800 crashed as a result of a mechanical failure. "Split Over TWA Crash's Cause Widens as the Inquiry Continues" was the headline of a *New York Times* article printed October 13. "Breaking with their counterparts from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, some senior federal transportation safety officials now say they believe that a mechanical failure probably caused Trans World Airlines

Flight 800 to crash, not a bomb or a missile," the article stated.

What is not in dispute is that the center fuel tank exploded. The *Washington Post* reported that after extensive metallurgical tests of the wreckage from the center fuel tank, it is clear that the metal is bent, rather than shattered or pulverized. It "is consistent with a 'low order' explosion or one that has less velocity and force than a bomb or missile detonation."

Putting profits before safety

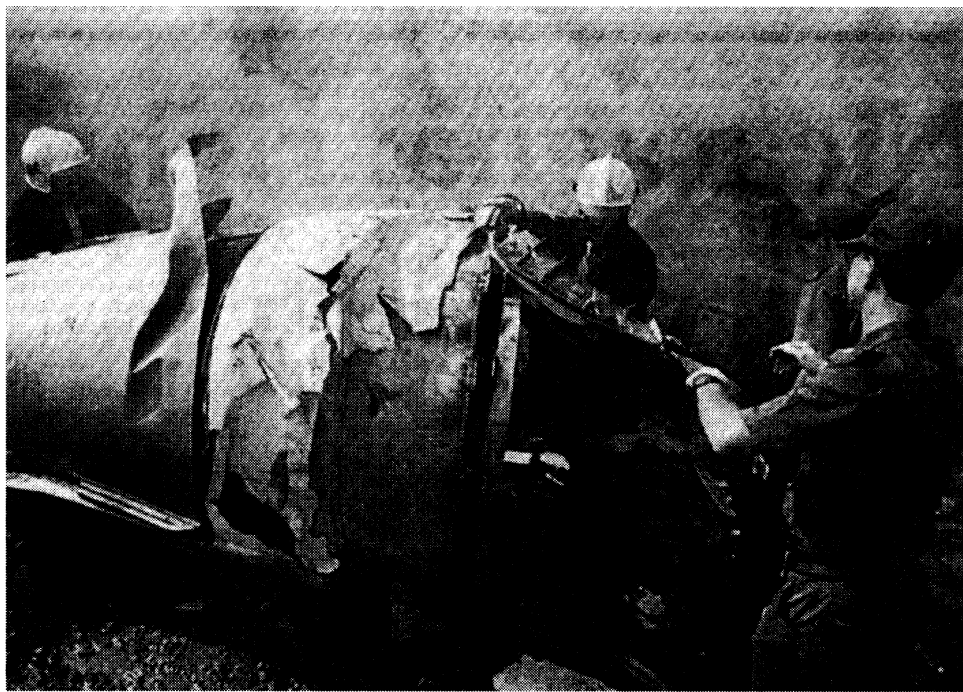
In a clear case of the airline bosses putting profits before safety, a proposal by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) twenty-four years ago that would have required airlines to use a technique known as "inerting" was never implemented. "Inerting" flushes explosive vapors from the empty space in fuel tanks by pumping in nitrogen or some other inert, nonflammable gas.

The *New York Times* reported October 24 that aviation experts say "the tank probably would not have exploded at all if it had been flushed of its explosive mix of air and fuel vapor before the jet took off." An official at the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) said, "Obviously, inerting the tank would prevent an explosion." There is "quite a bit of talk now about finding ways to revive the practice on commercial jets."

As airlines cut back on safety measures and government agencies look the other way, emergency landings of airplanes and fires aboard aircraft increase.

On September 5, a Federal Express DC-10 cargo jet made an emergency landing at Stewart Airport in upstate New York when a fire engulfed the plane. The plane was en route from Memphis to Boston. As the plane burned for eight hours on the runway, workers in surrounding buildings and children at a nearby elementary school were evacuated when it became known that the plane contained hazardous materials. The exact extent of the hazardous materials was not immediately known since Federal Express did not release a list of the materials until hours after the fire was extinguished.

On October 19, a Delta Airlines MD-80 slid down a runway at New York's LaGuardia Airport landing just yards from Flushing Bay. The plane's landing gear was sheared off as the plane, which was flying into the airport too low, hit a wall at the edge of the runway.



Firemen examine engine from Fokker-100 aircraft of the TAM Airlines that crashed in São Paulo, Brazil on October 31. Officials say all 96 people on the plane died in the accident and eight people were killed on the ground.

In a similar incident last November, an American Airlines MD-80 also came in too low, this time at Bradley Airport in Hartford, Connecticut, shearing off treetops. The plane landed short of the runway and hit antennas just before the landing area.

On October 28, an American Airlines MD-80 made an emergency landing at JFK Airport in New York. The plane, which originated in Chicago, was supposed to land at LaGuardia Airport. When a problem developed with its landing gear, the plane was diverted to the longer runways of JFK Airport. The *New York Times* reported on October 30 that "preliminary reports from American Airlines engineers indicated that the mechanism that raises and lowers the landing gear malfunctioned."

In December, 1995, a Tower Air 747 slid off a runway at JFK Airport in New York. Now, ten months later, the NTSB has come out with a report revealing that the plane's flight data recorder, or "black box" as it is commonly referred to, was not working. Despite numerous other problems that point to gross negligence on the part of Tower Air, the NTSB's only recommendation was to improve Tower Air's training of flight attendants on how to secure food carts.

The Association of Flight Attendants had protested government officials' decisions to allow ValuJet Airlines to resume operations. The airline returned to the skies on September 30, following a June 17 shutdown after investigations uncovered a series of safety violations that led to the crash of its May 11 flight. That disaster killed 110 people near Miami.

Two years after a crash of a USAir Boeing 737 in Pittsburgh that killed all 132 people aboard, the NTSB has recommended to the FAA changes in the operation of 737s. Problems with the plane's rudder system have been attributed to several crashes. The 737 is the most common airplane in the U.S. and is Boeing's best selling aircraft.

Thomas McSweeney, director of the FAA's aircraft certification service told the *Seattle Post-Intelligence* that it was too early to tell if the FAA will endorse all of the NTSB's recommendations. "I don't find them off-the-wall, but we need to study them further," he said October 16. "Too much tinkering with the 737s could create other problems."

Nancy Rosenstock is a member of the International Association of Machinists and works for TWA at JFK Airport in New York.

— LETTERS —

Who came out ahead?

When Clinton signed the welfare "reform" law, it really came home to me that I needed an analysis that speaks in terms of the class struggle — and I wasn't finding it in the *Nation* or the *Progressive*! I've been doing enough reading lately; (*New International*) to sharpen my political consciousness. Like the other night on some news program, they were posing the question as to who came out ahead in the 104th Congress — the Democrats or the Republicans? Either way, I thought, how did the working class fare?

I won't carry on any more! But, hey, it sure feels good to be better "equipped" to see through the nightly propaganda machine! Carry on!

Mark Heinecamp
Tucson, Arizona

Media cover-up

Readers of the big business daily newspapers in Vancouver had to look real hard for news on the massive march in Toronto October 26 against cutbacks and attacks on workers' rights.

The *Province* buried the item on page 38 of its Sunday, October 27 edition. The *Vancouver Sun's* Monday edition published five short paragraphs on page 5 but did not report facts on the march. Instead, it featured Ontario Premier Michael Harris' declaration that he would ignore protesters' demands. The

Globe and Mail placed the story on page 6.

Both the *Sun* and the *Globe* gave page-one headline and photo coverage to anti-Quebec independence rallies which took place in a few Canadian cities on October 27. Despite widespread prior news coverage and paid publicity, the rallies were a flop, drawing in total only several hundreds of participants.

Roger Annis
Vancouver, British Columbia

Stop poisoning forests

As state Highway One winds through the Maungataniwha Raetia Forest in Northland, New Zealand, a string of big protest signs condemning the government's use of the poison 1080 loom into view. The signs lead to a protest camp on Department of Conservation (DOC) land which was set up in late September to protest against DOC's dropping pellets of 1080 to kill off the possums infesting the forest.

To counter a previous protest in 1994 DOC called in riot cops from Auckland. They dropped poison pellets onto the campsite from a helicopter. Police threatened to shoot the protesters' dogs and horses and handled their guns in a provocative way. The protesters were subsequently found not guilty in court of all the charges laid

against them.

Possums, introduced from Australia, are a scourge in the New Zealand forest, killing a wide range of broadleaf trees by stripping them of their leaves. They also spread bovine tuberculosis to cattle. The protesters explain that 1080 poison, which is banned or heavily restricted in most countries takes longer than DOC claims to break down, killing hunters' dogs and other animals and birds. They explain that contract trapping is 35 percent more effective than poisoning in wiping out possums and, because it is labor intensive, would create rural jobs.

A day of festivities in late September drew a crowd of 150 to the

campsite to hear bands and show their support.

Malcolm McAllister
Auckland, New Zealand

Scientific terminology

I take issue with a footnote to the excerpt from Leon Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* in the October 28 issue. The footnote describes the Mensheviks as a "Moderate socialist party claiming allegiance to Karl Marx."

The word "moderate," I believe, has crept into the *Militant* from the world of bourgeois journalism. The capitalist media love to contrast "moderates" like the Mensheviks to "extremists" like the Bolsheviks.

"Moderate" connotes realism and reasonableness; extremism connotes the opposite.

If we look at the history of the Russian revolution, we can see that the Bolsheviks had the only reasonable and realistic course; the Mensheviks, dreaming of a liberal capitalist outcome of the revolution, would have been among the first victims of Kornilov's counter-revolution had not the workers and soldiers, led by the Bolsheviks, defeated Kornilov. Bolshevik policy was based on reality; the Mensheviks were utopians.

The capitalist media are not interested in encouraging their readers, especially their working-class readers, to think for themselves. It is important that the newspaper of the working class, which seeks to educate rather than manipulate, use scientific terminology.

Tom O'Brien
St. Paul, Minnesota

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



Nicaragua: rightist wins presidency

BY FRANCISCO PICADO
AND RÓGER CALERO

NEW YORK — By winning nearly 49 percent of the ballots cast in the first round of voting, conservative businessman Arnoldo Alemán, candidate of the right-wing Liberal Alliance, won the presidency of Nicaragua October 20.

Two days later, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) agreed to accept the results as tallied by the Nicaraguan Supreme Electoral Council, pending clarification of some "irregularities" during the vote. Daniel Ortega, the FSLN's presidential candidate, had announced the day before his party would not accept the results because of fraud. The FSLN got nearly 40 percent of the vote.

Elections also took place for the Legislative Assembly, municipalities, and for seats in the Central American Parliament. The FSLN and the Liberal Alliance will dominate the Legislative Assembly. The Nicaraguan Christian Party came a distant third, with a little more than 4 percent of the vote.

Alemán, a lawyer and coffee plantation owner, was the mayor of Managua, the capital city of this Central American country of just over 4 million people. Alemán has pledged to end the legacy of the FSLN. His candidacy unified his own Constitutional Liberal Party with the Nationalist Liberal Party, founded by former dictator Anastasio Somoza, as well as an assortment of right-wing groups. Leaders of the Nicaraguan Resistance — better known as *contras*, the counterrevolutionary army that fought the FSLN government in the 1980s — supported Alemán. Members of the Somoza family were occasionally observed traveling as part of Alemán's campaign entourage.

Rise and decline of revolution

The FSLN was named after Augusto César Sandino, a peasant and mine worker who led a seven-year war that forced U.S. marines out of Nicaragua in 1934.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front came to power on the heels of a popular revolution that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship in July 1979. During the initial years of the Nicaraguan revolution, the FSLN leadership, despite errors and political hesitations, pursued a course that promoted the organization and mobilization of the workers and peasants of Nicaragua. The new government increasingly used its power to advance the toilers' class interests against the exploiters at home and abroad.

The actions by the workers and peasants regime gave a boost to struggles against the U.S.-backed landlord-capitalist tyrannies in El Salvador and Guatemala, linked up with the revolution in Grenada, and gave a powerful new impetus to political steps forward by the workers in Cuba.

The Sandinista leadership's initial course was in continuity with nearly two decades of revolutionary work by the FSLN, codified in the Historic Program of the organization drafted by Carlos Fonseca and first published in 1969.

This program pledged to destroy the dictatorship's "military and bureaucratic apparatus" and "establish a revolutionary government based on an alliance of workers and peasants and a convergence of all patriotic forces opposed to imperialism and the oligarchy." The new regime would establish broad democratic rights and initiate social, political, and economic measures to "create a Nicaragua that is free of exploitation, oppression, and backwardness."

The program pledged to "expropriate the landed estates, factories, companies... and other enterprises fraudulently acquired by the Somoza family [and] their accomplices"; to "nationalize the holdings of all foreign companies that exploit mineral, forest, maritime, and other natural resources"; to "establish workers control over the management of factories"; and to "plan the national economy, putting an end to the anarchy



Farm workers in León, Nicaragua, demonstrate in June, 1990, against return of state farms to former landowners from whom they were confiscated by workers and peasants in the early 1980s. Banner reads, "Over our dead bodies; no return of land to Somocistas." Despite defeat of revolution that overthrew Somoza dictatorship in 1979, many refuse to submit to a complete rollback of land reform. Because of such opposition, new president-elect Alemán had to draw back from early campaign pledges to return all land expropriated by revolution to capitalists.

Militant/Seth Galinsky

characteristic of the capitalist system of production."

The Historic Program called for "a massive campaign to immediately wipe out illiteracy" and measures to uproot discrimination suffered by women and by Blacks and Indians living on the Atlantic Coast and elsewhere in Nicaragua.

On international perspectives, the program declared that a workers and peasants government would "actively support the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against both traditional and modern forms of colonialism, and against the common enemy: U.S. imperialism." The entire text of this document appears in *New International* no. 9 (see ad below).

The revolutionary government's steps to organize workers and farmers to carry out this program were electrifying to workers, peasants, and youth throughout the region and even around the world. Washington, having stood behind Somoza to the last ditch and failing to economically pressure the new government to change its course, began by late 1981 training and financing a counter-revolutionary army headed by former members of Somoza's officer corps.

Over the next six years the U.S.-organized *contras* mounted a murderous war to destroy the revolution.

Despite the toll on the country's economy, the 30,000 lives lost during the fighting, and the tens of thousands of maimed and wounded, the workers, peasants and youth in the Sandinista army defeated the *contras* by late 1987. But during that period the leadership of the FSLN abandoned the organization's historic program, transforming the FSLN from a revolutionary organization to a radical bourgeois electoral party by the end of the 1980s. Land reform and other revolutionary measures came to a halt and the government forged a "social pact" with landlords and capitalists, demoralizing workers and peasants.

Thus the workers and farmers government was defeated before the February 1990 elections, when the FSLN lost the vote to the National Opposition Union (UNO) — an amalgam of liberal bourgeois forces that had been part of the anti-Somoza fight in the 1970s, conservative politicians and businessmen, *contra* leaders, and two Stalinist organizations that had opposed the FSLN. The group was backed and financed by Washington.

Alemán pledges to reverse land reform

Alemán was elected mayor of Managua in 1990, as part of UNO's victory that brought Violeta Chamorro to the presidency. The FSLN pledged to lead an orderly transition to the new regime, as part of which

several of its leaders remained in the government under Chamorro.

Alemán, as mayor, painted over the revolutionary murals that covered Managua and cut the light and gas service to the tomb of FSLN founder Fonseca, as part of his efforts to erase all signs of the previous revolutionary regime.

Among the most important aspects of Alemán's promise to eradicate the past was his pledge to reverse the extensive land reform carried out — though never finished — in the early 1980s. Toward the end of his campaign, Alemán retreated from a frontal confrontation around this question.

Under Chamorro, the government signed accords with the International Monetary Fund and had been imposing an austerity program aimed at making Nicaragua's market attractive to investors. For the past several years, however, the capitalists in Nicaragua have been unable to break labor resistance to the "stabilization and structural adjustment program" of the IMF. Thousands of peasants have remained determined to keep the land they received during the early years of the revolution.

"If Arnoldo [Alemán] wins, he says he will take our lands," Adalberto Cantalero told a *Washington Post* reporter in the province of Jinotega. "If I lose my land, I will be the first one to go back to the mountains and pick up a rifle and go to war again."

Declining living standards

By late October, Alemán was saying he would continue with the general outlines of the economic program Chamorro negotiated with the IMF. He proposed a program called

"Buying Peace," which would compensate landlords who had land confiscated by the workers and farmers government. He estimated the cost at about \$500 million, which he said would come from international aid. He also stated that workers and peasants who got small plots of land during the revolution would get titles for their properties.

Nicaragua is already shackled with a foreign debt of more than \$10 billion — five times the country's gross domestic product. So many in Nicaragua question Alemán's promises of foreign aid. "It is impossible," said José Evenor Taboada, president of Nicaragua's central bank. "He will not even get \$4 million."

Although the Nicaraguan economy reportedly grew 4 percent last year, the economic landscape is desolate for workers and peasants. The country is rated as the second poorest country in the hemisphere, with an average per capita income of \$470. Some 60 percent of the working-age population is unemployed or underemployed, and 75 percent of Nicaraguans live below the poverty line.

FSLN offered bourgeois program

While many workers and farmers identify Alemán and his Liberal Alliance as representing the interests of the landlords and capitalists, the FSLN did not offer any real alternative. "More coincidence than differences," was the headline of an article in the October 20 *El Diario/La Prensa*, the main New York Spanish-language daily, comparing the platforms of Alemán and Ortega.

In an effort to shed any revolutionary image, the FSLN suspended use of its anthem that condemned U.S. imperialism and replaced it with the Beethoven's "Ode to Joy" prior to the elections. Ortega chose Juan Manuel Caldera, a conservative cattle rancher, as a vice presidential candidate. Caldera is a longtime member of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), well known for its opposition to the workers and farmers regime in the 1980s.

One of several *contra* commanders who joined Ortega at campaign rallies was José Benito Bravo, better known as Commander Mack, who was expelled from the *contras* because of his atrocious record on human rights. Bravo came under a spotlight in 1985 when *Newsweek* published photos of the grisly execution of a peasant under his supervision.

Ortega promised that his government would make sure there are "no confiscations, no evictions, no expropriations, and will look for a point of equilibrium," on the ongoing property conflicts.

Ortega announced an economic plan drawn up by a former IMF official, praising the primary role of the capitalist market. "Private enterprise will be recognized as the main motor of economic growth," Ortega's program said. "The basic principles of the market economy will be respected."

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